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MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS,

IN

VERSE and PROSE,

Of the Late Right Honourable

Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq;

With ſome Account of the LIFE and
WRITINGS of the AUTHOR,
By Mr. *Tickell*.

VOLUME *the* THIRD.

LONDON:
Printed for JACOB TONSON in the *Strand*.
MDCCXXVI.

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Advertiſement.

These Three Volumes, with the *Tatlers*, *Spectators*, *Guardians*, *Freeholder*, and *Remarks on ſeveral Parts of* Italy, compleat Mr. *Addiſon*'s Works in *Twelves.*

DIALOGUES
UPON THE
USEFULNESS
OF
ANCIENT MEDALS.

Eſpecially in relation to the

Latin and *Greek* Poets.

> ——quoniam hæc Ratio plerumque videtur
> *Triſtior eſſe, quibus non eſt tractata, retroque*
> *Volgus abhorret ab hac: volui tibi ſuaviloquenti*
> *Carmine Pierio rationem exponere noſtram,*
> *Et quaſi muſæo dulci contingere melle,*
> *Si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenerem.*
>
> Lucretius.

Printed in the Year MDCCXXVI.

VERSES

Occaſion'd by

Mr. ADDISON'S *Treatiſe*

OF

MEDALS.

SEE *the wild waſte of all-devouring years!*
How Rome *her own ſad ſepulchre appears:*
With nodding arches, broken temples ſpread!
The very tombs now vaniſh'd like their dead!
Some felt the ſilent ſtroke of mould'ring age;
Some, hoſtile fury; ſome, religious rage:
Barbarian blindneſs, Chriſtian zeal conſpire,
And Papal piety, and Gothick *fire.*
Perhaps by its own ruins ſav'd from flame,
Some bury'd marble half preſerves a Name;
That Name, the learn'd with fierce diſputes purſue,
And give to Titus *old* Veſpaſian'*s due.*
Ambition *ſigh'd. She found it vain to truſt*
The faithleſs Column, and the crumbling Buſt;

Huge Moles whoſe ſhadow ſtretch'd from ſhore to ſhore,
Their ruins periſh'd, and their place no more!
Convinc'd, ſhe now contracts her vaſt deſign;
And all her triumphs ſhrink into a Coin.
A narrow orb each crowded conqueſt keeps;
Beneath her Palm here ſad Judea *weeps;*
Now ſcantier limits the proud Arch confine,
And ſcarce are ſeen the proſtrate Nile *and* Rhine:
A ſmall Euphrates *thro' the piece is roll'd;*
And little Eagles wave their wings in Gold.
The Medal, faithful to its charge of fame,
Thro' climes and ages bears each form and name:
In one ſhort view, ſubjected to our eye,
Gods, Emp'rors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lye.
With ſharpen'd ſight pale Antiquaries pore,
Th' Inſcription value, but the Ruſt adore:
This, the Blueverniſh, that, the Green endears,
The ſacred Ruſt of twice ten hundred years.
To gain Peſcennius *one employs his ſchemes;*
One graſps a Cecrops *in ecſtatic dreams:*
Poor Vadius, *long with learned ſpleen devour'd,*
Can taſte no pleaſure ſince his Shield was ſcour'd;
And Curio, *reſtleſs by the fair one's ſide,*
Sighs for an Otho, *and neglects his Bride.*
Theirs is the Vanity, the Learning thine.
Touch'd by thy hand, again Rome's *glories ſhine:*
Her Gods, and godlike Heroes riſe to view,
And all her faded garlands bloom anew.
Nor bluſh, theſe ſtudies thy regard engage;
Theſe pleas'd the Fathers of poetic rage;
The Verſe and Sculpture bore an equal part,
And Art reflected images to Art.
Oh when ſhall Britain, *conſcious of her claim,*
Stand emulous of Greek *and* Roman *fame?*

In living Medals ſee her wars enroll'd,
And vanquiſh'd realms ſupply recording Gold?
Here, riſing bold, the Patriot's honeſt face;
There, Warriors frowning in hiſtoric braſs.
Then future ages with delight ſhall ſee,
How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's *looks agree:*
Or in fair Series laurel'd Bards be ſhown,
A Virgil *there, and here an* Addiſon.
Then ſhall Thy Craggs *(and let me call him Mine)*
On the caſt Ore, another Pollio, *ſhine;*
With aſpect open ſhall erect his head,
And round the Orb in laſting notes be read:
" *Stateſman, yet friend to Truth! in ſoul ſincere,*
" *In action faithful, and in honour clear;*
" *Who broke no promiſe, ſerv'd no private end,*
" *Who gain'd no title, and who loſt no friend;*
" *Ennobled by Himſelf, by all approv'd,*
" *And prais'd, unenvy'd, by the Muſe he lov'd.*

A. POPE.

DIALOGUES

Upon the Uſefulneſs of

ANCIENT MEDALS.

DIALOGUE I.

CYNTHIO, *Eugenius* and *Philander* had retired together from the town to a country village, that lies upon the *Thames*. Their deſign was to paſs away the heats of the Summer among the freſh breezes, that riſe from the river, and the agreeable mixture of ſhades and fountains, in which the whole country naturally abounds. They were all three very well verſed in the politer parts of learning, and had travelled into the moſt refined nations of *Europe*: ſo that they were capable of entertaining themſelves on a thouſand different ſubjects without running into the common topics of defaming publick parties, or particular perſons. As they were intimate friends they took the freedom to diſſent from one another in diſcourſe, or upon occaſion to ſpeak a *Latin* ſentence without fearing the imputation of pedantry or ill-breeding.

They were one evening taking a walk together in the fields when their diſcourſe accidentally fell upon ſeveral unprofitable parts of learning. It was *Cynthio*'s humour to run down every thing that was rather for oſtentation than uſe. He was ſtill preferring good ſenſe to arts and ſciences, and often took a pleaſure to appear ignorant, that he might the better turn to ridicule thoſe that valued themſelves on their books and ſtudies, though at the ſame time one might very well ſee that he could not have attacked many parts of learning ſo ſucceſsfully, had not he borrowed his aſſiſtances from them. After having rally'd a ſet or two of *Virtuoſo's*, he fell upon the Medalliſts.

Theſe gentlemen, ſays he, value themſelves upon being critics in Ruſt, and will undertake to tell you the different ages of it, by its colour. They are poſſeſſed with a kind of learned avarice, and are for getting together hoards of ſuch mony only as was current among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. There are ſeveral of them that are better acquainted with the faces of the *Antonines*, than of the *Stuarts*, and would rather chuſe to count out a Sum in Seſterces, than in pounds ſterling. I have heard of one in *Italy* that uſed to ſwear *by the head of Otho*. Nothing can be pleaſanter than to ſee a circle of theſe *Virtuoſo's* about a cabinet of Medals, deſcanting upon the value, rarity and authenticalneſs of the ſeveral pieces that lie before them. One takes up a coin of gold, and after having well weighed the figures and inſcription, tells you very gravely, if it were braſs, it would be invaluable. Another falls a ringing a *Peſcennius Niger*, and judiciouſly diſtinguiſhes the ſound of it to be modern. A third deſires you to obſerve well the *Toga* on ſuch a reverſe, and asks you whether you can in conſcience believe the ſleeve of it to be of the true *Roman* cut.

I muſt confeſs, ſays *Philander*, the knowledge of Medals has moſt of thoſe diſadvantages that can render a ſcience ridiculous, to ſuch as are not well verſed in it. Nothing is more eaſy than to repreſent as impertinences any parts of learning that have no immediate relation to the happineſs or convenience of mankind. When a man ſpends his whole life among the Stars and Planets, or lays out a twelve-month on the ſpots in the Sun, however noble his ſpeculations may be, they are very apt to fall into burleſque. But it is ſtill more natural to laugh at ſuch ſtudies as are employed on low and vulgar objects. What curious obſervations have been made on Spiders, Lobſters, and Cockle-ſhells? yet the very naming of them is almoſt ſufficient to turn them into raillery. It is no wonder therefore that the ſcience of Medals, which is charged with ſo many unconcerning parts of knowledge, and built on ſuch mean materials, ſhould appear ridiculous to thoſe that have not taken the pains to examine it.

Eugenius was very attentive to what *Philander* ſaid on the ſubject of Medals. He was one that endeavoured rather to be agreeable than ſhining in converſation, for which reaſon he was more beloved, though not ſo much admired as *Cynthio.* I muſt confeſs, ſays he, I find my ſelf very much inclined to ſpeak againſt a ſort of ſtudy that I know nothing of. I have however one ſtrong Prejudice in favour of it, that *Philander* has thought it worth his while to employ ſome time upon it. I am glad then, ſays *Cynthio*, that I have thrown him on a ſcience of which I have long wiſhed to hear the Uſefulneſs. There, ſays *Philander*, you muſt excuſe me. At preſent you do not know but it may have its uſefulneſs. But ſhould I endeavour to convince you of it, I might fail in my attempt, and ſo render my ſcience ſtill more contemptible. On the contrary, ſays *Cynthio*, we are already ſo perſuaded of the unprofitableneſs of your ſcience, that you can but leave us where you find us, but if you ſucceed you increaſe the number of your party. Well, ſays *Philander*, in hopes of making two ſuch conſiderable proſelytes, I am very well content to talk away an evening with you on the ſubject; but on this condition, that you will communicate your thoughts to me freely when you diſſent from me, or have any difficulties that you think me capable of removing. To make uſe of the liberty you give us, ſays *Eugenius*, I muſt tell you what I believe ſurprizes all beginners as well as my ſelf. We are apt to think your Medalliſts a little fantaſtical in the different prices they ſet upon their coins, without any regard to the ancient value or the metal of which they are compoſed. A ſilver Medal, for example, ſhall be more eſteemed than a golden one, and a piece of braſs than either. To anſwer you, ſays *Philander*, in the language of a Medalliſt, you are not to look upon a cabinet of Medals as a treaſure of mony, but of knowledge, nor muſt you fancy any charms in gold, but in the figures and inſcriptions that adorn it. The intrinſic value of an old coin does not conſiſt in its metal but its erudition. It is the Device that has raiſed the ſpecies, ſo that at preſent an *As* or an *Obolus* may carry a higher price than a *Denarius* or a *Drachma*; and a piece of mony that was not worth a peny fifteen hundred years ago, may be now rated at fifty crowns, or perhaps a hundred guineas. I find, ſays *Cynthio*, that to have a reliſh for ancient coins it is neceſſary to have a contempt of the modern. But I am afraid you will never be able, with all your Medallic eloquence, to perſuade *Eugenius* and my ſelf that it is better to have a pocket full of *Otho's* and *Gordians* than of *Jacobus's* or *Louis d'ors*. This however we ſhall be judges of, when you have let us know the ſeveral uſes of old coins.

The firſt and moſt obvious one, ſays *Philander*, is the ſhewing us the Faces of all the great perſons of antiquity. A cabinet of Medals is a collection of pictures in miniature. *Juvenal* calls them very humorouſly,

> *Conciſum argentum in titulos, facieſque minutas.*
> Sat. 5.

You here ſee the *Alexanders*, *Cæſars*, *Pompeys*, *Trajans*, and the whole catalogue of Heroes; who have many of them ſo diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of mankind that we almoſt look upon them as another ſpecies. It is an agreeable amuſement to compare in our own thoughts the face of a great Man with the character that authors have given us of him, and to try if we can find out in his looks and features either the haughty, cruel, or merciful temper that diſcovers it ſelf in the hiſtory of his actions. We find too on Medals the repreſentations of Ladies that have given occaſion to whole volumes on the account only of a face. We have here the pleaſure to examine their looks and dreſſes, and to ſurvey at leiſure thoſe beauties that have ſometimes been the happineſs or miſery of whole kingdoms: Nor do you only meet the faces of ſuch as are famous in hiſtory, but of ſeveral whoſe names are not to be found any where except on Medals. Some of the Emperors, for example, have had Wives, and ſome of them Children, that no authors have mentioned. We are therefore obliged to the ſtudy of coins for having made new diſcoveries to the learned, and given them information of ſuch perſons as are to be met with on no other kind of records. You muſt give me leave, ſays *Cynthio*, to reject this laſt uſe of Medals. I do not think it worth while to trouble my ſelf with a perſon's name or face that receives all his reputation from the mint, and would never have been known in the world had there not been ſuch things as Medals. A man's memory finds ſufficient employment on ſuch as have really ſignalized themſelves by their great actions, without charging it ſelf with the names of an inſignificant people whoſe whole hiſtory is written on the edges of an old coin.

If you are only for ſuch perſons as have made a noiſe in the world, ſays *Philander*, you have on Medals a long liſt of heathen Deities, diſtinguiſhed from each other by their proper titles and ornaments. You ſee the copies of ſeveral ſtatues that have had the politeſt nations of the world fall down before them. You have here too ſeveral perſons of a more thin and ſhadowy nature, as Hope, Conſtancy, Fidelity, Abundance, Honour, Virtue, Eternity, Juſtice, Moderation, Happineſs, and in ſhort a whole creation of the like imaginary ſubſtances. To theſe you may add the Genies of nations, provinces, cities, high-ways, and the like Allegorical Beings. In devices of this nature one ſees a pretty poetical invention, and may often find as much thought on the reverſe of a Medal as in a Canto of *Spenſer*. Not to interrupt you, ſays *Eugenius*, I fancy it is this uſe of Medals that has recommended them to ſeveral hiſtory-painters, who perhaps without this aſſiſtance would have found it very difficult to have invented ſuch an airy ſpecies of beings, when they are obliged to put a moral virtue into colours, or to find out a proper dreſs for a paſſion. It is doubtleſs for this reaſon, ſays *Philander*, that Painters have not a little contributed to bring the ſtudy of Medals in vogue. For not to mention ſeveral others, *Caraccio* is ſaid to have aſſiſted *Aretine* by deſigns that he took from the *Spintriæ* of *Tiberius*. *Raphael* had thoroughly ſtudied the figures on old Coins. *Patin* tells us that *Le Brun* had done the ſame. And it is well known that *Rubens* had a noble collection of Medals in his own poſſeſſion. But I muſt not quit this head before I tell you, that you ſee on Medals not only the names and perſons of Emperors, Kings, Conſuls, Pro-conſuls, Prætors, and the like characters of importance, but of ſome of the Poets,

and

and of ſeveral who had won the prizes at the Olympic games. It was a noble time, ſays *Cynthio*, when Trips and *Corniſh* hugs could make a man immortal. How many Heroes would *Moor-fields* have furniſhed out in the days of old? A fellow that can now only win a hat or a belt, had he lived among the *Greeks*, might have had his face ſtampt upon their Coins. But theſe were the wiſe ancients, who had more eſteem for a *Milo* than a *Homer*, and heapt up greater Honours on *Pindar*'s Jockies, than on the Poet himſelf. But by this time I ſuppoſe you have drawn up all your medallic people, and indeed they make a much more formidable body than I could have imagined. You have ſhewn us all conditions, ſexes and ages, emperors and empreſſes, men and children, gods and wreſtlers. Nay you have conjured up perſons that exiſt no where elſe but on old Coins, and have made our Paſſions and Virtues and Vices viſible. I could never have thought that a cabinet of Medals had been ſo well peopled. But in the next place, ſays *Philander*, as we ſee on coins the different Faces of perſons, we ſee on them too their different Habits and Dreſſes, according to the mode that prevailed in the ſeveral ages when the Medals were ſtampt. This is another uſe, ſays *Cynthio*, that in my opinion contributes rather to make a man learned than wiſe, and is neither capable of pleaſing the underſtanding or imagination. I know there are ſeveral ſupercilious Critics that will treat an author with the greateſt contempt imaginable, if he fancies the old *Romans* wore a girdle, and are amazed at a man's ignorance, who believes the *Toga* had any Sleeves to it till the declenſion of the *Roman* Empire. Now I would fain know the great importance of this kind of learning, and why it ſhould not be as noble a task to write upon a Bib and hanging-ſleeves, as on the *Bulla* and *Prætexta.* The reaſon is, that we are familiar with the names of the one, and meet with the other no where but in learned authors. An Antiquary will ſcorn to mention a pinner or a night-rail, a petticoat or a manteau; but will talk as gravely as a father of the church on the *Vitta* and *Peplus*, the *Stola* and *Inſtita.* How would an old *Roman* laugh, were it poſſible for him to ſee the ſolemn diſſertations that have been made on theſe weighty ſubjects! To ſet them in their natural light, let us fancy, if you pleaſe, that about a thouſand years hence, ſome profound author ſhall write a learned treatiſe on the Habits of the preſent age, diſtinguiſhed into the following Titles and Chapters.

Of the old Britiſh *Trowſer.*
Of the Ruff and Collar-band.
The opinion of ſeveral learned men concerning the uſe of the Shoulder-knot.
Such a one miſtaken in his account of the Surtout, &c.

I muſt confeſs, ſays *Eugenius* interrupting him, the knowledge of theſe affairs is in it ſelf very little improving, but as it is impoſſible without it to underſtand ſeveral parts of your ancient authors, it certainly hath its uſe. It is pity indeed there is not a nearer way of coming at it. I have ſometimes fancied it would not be an impertinent deſign to make a kind of an old *Roman* wardrobe, where you ſhould ſee *Toga's* and *Tunica's*, the *Chlamys* and *Trabea*, and in ſhort all the different veſts and ornaments that are ſo often mentioned in the *Greek* and *Roman* authors. By this means a man would comprehend better and remember much longer the ſhape of an ancient garment, than he poſſibly can from the help of tedious quotations and deſcriptions. The deſign, ſays *Philander*, might be very uſeful, but after what models would you work? *Sigonius*, for example, will tell you that the *Veſtis Trabeata* was of ſuch a particular faſhion, *Scaliger* is for another, and *Dacier* thinks them both in the wrong. Theſe are, ſays *Cynthio*, I ſuppoſe the names of three *Roman* taylors: for is it poſſible men of learning can have any diſputes of this nature? May not we as well believe that hereafter the whole learned world will be divided upon the make of a modern pair of breeches? And yet, ſays *Eugenius*, the Critics have fallen as foul upon each other for matters of the ſame moment. But as to this point, where the Make of the garment is controverted, let them, if they can find cloth enough, work after all the moſt probable faſhions. To enlarge the deſign, I would have another room for the old *Roman* inſtruments of war, where you might ſee the *Pilum* and the ſhield, the eagles, enſigns, helmets, battering-rams and trophies, in a word, all the ancient military furniture in the ſame manner as it might have been in an Arſenal of old *Rome*. A third apartment ſhould be a kind of Sacriſtie for altars, idols, ſacrificing inſtruments, and other religious utenſils. Not to be tedious, one might make a magazine for all ſorts of antiquities, that would ſhow a man in an afternoon more than he could learn out of books in a twelve-month. This would cut ſhort the whole ſtudy of antiquities, and perhaps be much more uſeful to Univerſities than thoſe collections of Whale-bone and Crocodile-skins in which they commonly abound. You will find it very difficult, ſays *Cynthio*, to perſuade thoſe ſocieties of learned men to fall in with your project. They will tell you that things of this importance muſt not be taken on truſt; you ought to learn them among the Claſſic Authors and at the fountain-head. Pray conſider what a figure a man would make in the republick of letters, ſhould he appeal to your Univerſity-wardrobe, when they expect a ſentence out of the *Re Veſtiaria*? or how do you think a man that has read *Vegetius* will reliſh your *Roman* Arſenal? In the mean time, ſays *Philander*, you find on Medals every thing that you could meet with in your magazine of antiquities, and when you have built your arſenals, wardrobes, and ſacriſties, it is from Medals that you muſt fetch their furniture. It is here too that you ſee the figures of ſeveral inſtruments of muſick, mathematics and mechanics. One might make an entire gally out of the plans that are to be met with on the reverſes of ſeveral old coins. Nor are they only charged with Things but with many ancient Cuſtoms, as ſacrifices, triumphs, congiaries, allocutions, decurſions, lectiſterniums, and a thouſand other antiquated names and ceremonies that we ſhould not have had ſo juſt a notion of, were they not ſtill preſerved on Coins. I might add under this head of antiquities, that we find on Medals the manner of ſpelling in the old *Roman* inſcriptions. That is, ſays

Cynthio, we find that *Felix* is never written with an *œ* dipthongue, and that in *Auguſtus*'s days *Civis* ſtood for *Cives*, with other ſecrets in Orthography of the ſame importance.

To come then to a more weighty uſe, ſays *Philander*, it is certain that Medals give a very great light to hiſtory, in confirming ſuch paſſages as are true in old Authors, in ſettling ſuch as are told after different manners, and in recording ſuch as have been omitted. In this caſe a cabinet of Medals is a body of hiſtory. It was indeed the beſt way in the world to perpetuate the memory of great actions, thus to coin out the life of an Emperor, and to put every great exploit into the mint. It was a kind of Printing, before the art was invented. It is by this means that Monſieur *Vaillant* has diſembroiled a hiſtory that was loſt to the world before his time, and out of a ſhort collection of Medals has given us a chronicle of the Kings of *Syria*. For this too is an advantage Medals have over books, that they tell their ſtory much quicker, and ſum up a whole volume in twenty or thirty reverſes. They are indeed the beſt epitomes in the world, and let you ſee with one caſt of an eye the ſubſtance of above a hundred pages. Another uſe of Medals is, that they not only ſhew you the actions of an Emperor, but at the ſame time mark out the year in which they were performed. Every exploit has its date ſet to it. A ſeries of an Emperor's Coins is his life digeſted into annals. Hiſtorians ſeldom break their relation with a mixture of chronology, nor diſtribute the particulars of an Emperor's ſtory into the ſeveral years of his reign: or where they do it they often differ in their ſeveral periods. Here therefore it is much ſafer to quote a Medal than an Author, for in this caſe you do not appeal to a *Suetonius* or a *Lampridius*, but to the Emperor himſelf, or to the whole Body of a *Roman* Senate. Beſides that a Coin is in no danger of having its characters altered by copiers and tranſcribers. This I muſt confeſs, ſays *Cynthio*, may in ſome caſes be of great moment, but conſidering the ſubjects on which your chronologers are generally employed, I ſee but little uſe that riſes from it. For example, what ſignifies it to the world whether ſuch an Elephant appeared in the Amphi-theatre in the ſecond or the third year of *Domitian*? Or what am I the wiſer for knowing that *Trajan* was in the fifth year of his Tribuneſhip when he entertained the people with ſuch a Horſe-race or Bull-baiting? Yet it is the fixing of theſe great periods that gives a man the firſt rank in the republic of letters, and recommends him to the world for a perſon of various reading and profound erudition.

You muſt always give your men of great reading leave to ſhow their talents on the meaneſt ſubjects, ſays *Eugenius*; it is a kind of ſhooting at rovers: where a man lets fly his arrow without taking any aim, to ſhew his ſtrength. But there is one advantage, ſays he, turning to *Philander*, that ſeems to me very conſiderable, although your Medalliſts ſeldom throw it into the account, which is the great help to memory one finds in Medals: for my own part I am very much embarraſſed in the names and ranks of the ſeveral *Roman* Emperors, and find it difficult to recollect upon occaſion the different parts of their hiſtory: but your Medalliſts upon the firſt naming of an Emperor will immediately tell you his age, family and life. To remember where he enters in the ſucceſſion, they only conſider in what part of the cabinet he lies; and by runinng over in their thoughts ſuch a particular drawer, will give you an account of all the remarkable parts of his reign.

I thank you, ſays *Philander*, for helping me to an uſe that perhaps I ſhould not have thought on. But there is another of which I am ſure you could not be but ſenſible when you were at *Rome*. I muſt own to you it ſurprized me to ſee my *Ciceroni* ſo well acquainted with the buſts and ſtatues of all the great people of antiquity. There was not an Emperor or Empreſs but he knew by ſight, and as he was ſeldom without Medals in his pocket, he would often ſhew us the ſame face on an old Coin that we ſaw in the Statue. He would diſcover a *Commodus* through the diſguiſe of the club and lion's skin, and find out ſuch a one to be *Livia* that was dreſſed up like a *Ceres*. Let a buſt be never ſo disfigured, they have a thouſand marks by which to decipher it. They will know a *Zenobia* by the ſitting of her Diadem, and will diſtinguiſh the *Fauſtina's* by their different way of tying up their hair. Oh! Sir, ſays *Cynthio*, they will go a great deal farther, they will give you the name and titles of a Statue that has loſt his noſe and ears; or if there is but half a beard remaining, will tell you at firſt ſight who was the owner of it. Now I muſt confeſs to you, I uſed to fancy they impoſed upon me an Emperor or Empreſs at pleaſure, rather than appear ignorant.

All this however is eaſily learnt from Medals, ſays *Philander*, where you may ſee likewiſe the plans of many the moſt conſiderable buildings of Old *Rome.* There is an ingenious Gentleman of our own nation extremely well verſed in this ſtudy, who has a deſign of publiſhing the whole hiſtory of Architecture, with its ſeveral improvements and decays as it is to be met with on ancient Coins. He has aſſured me that he has obſerved all the nicety of proportion in the figures of the different orders that compoſe the buildings on the beſt preſerved Medals. You here ſee the copies of ſuch Ports and triumphal Arches as there are not the leaſt traces of in the places where they once ſtood. You have here the models of ſeveral ancient Temples, though the Temples themſelves, and the Gods that were worſhipped in them, are periſhed many hundred years ago. Or if there are ſtill any foundations or ruines of former edifices, you may learn from Coins what was their Architecture when they ſtood whole and entire. Theſe are buildings with the *Goths* and *Vandals* could not demoliſh, that are infinitely more durable than ſtone or marble, and will perhaps laſt as long as the earth it ſelf. They are in ſhort ſo many real monuments of Braſs.

Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
Poſſit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum ſeries, & fuga temporum.

Which eating ſhow'rs, nor northwind's feeble blaſt,
Nor whirle of time, nor flight of years can waſte. Mr. *Creech.*

This is a noble Panegyric on an old copper Coin, ſays *Cynthio.* But I am afraid a little malicious ruſt would demoliſh one of your brazen edifices as effectually as a *Goth* or *Vandal.* You would laugh at me, ſays *Philander*, ſhould I make you a learned diſſertation on the nature of Ruſts I ſhall only tell you there are two or three ſorts of them which are extremely beautiful in the eye of an Antiquary, and preſerve a Coin better than the beſt artificial varniſh. As for other kinds, a skilful Medalliſt knows very well how to deal with them. He will recover you a Temple or a triumphal Arch out of its rubbiſh, if I may ſo call it, and with a few reparations of the graving tool reſtore it to its firſt ſplendour and magnificence. I have known an Emperor quite hid under a cruſt of droſs, who after two or three days cleanſing has appeared with all his Titles about him as freſh and beautiful as at his firſt coming out of the Mint. I am ſorry, ſays *Eugenius*, I did not know this laſt uſe of Medals when I was at *Rome.* It might perhaps have given me a greater taſte of its Antiquities, and have fixed in my memory ſeveral of the ruins that I have now forgotten For my part, ſays *Cynthio*, I think there are at *Rome* enow modern works of Architecture to employ any reaſonable man. I never could have a taſte for old bricks and rubbiſh, nor would trouble my ſelf about the ruines of *Auguſtus*'s Palace ſo long as I could ſee the *Vatican*, the *Borgheſe*, and the *Farneſe* as they now ſtand; I muſt own to you at the ſame time this is talking like an ignorant man. Were I in other company I would perhaps change my ſtyle, and tell them that I would rather ſee the fragments of *Apollo*'s Temple than St. *Peter*'s. I remember when our Antiquary at *Rome* had led us a whole day together from one ruin to another, he at laſt brought us to the *Rotunda*, And this, ſays he, is the moſt valuable Antiquity in *Italy*, notwithſtanding it is ſo entire.

The ſame kind of fancy, ſays *Philander*, has formerly gained upon ſeveral of your Medalliſts, who were for hoording up ſuch pieces of money only as had been half conſumed by time or ruſt. There were no Coins pleaſed them more than thoſe which had paſſed through the hands of an old *Roman* Clipper. I have read an Author of this taſte that compares a ragged Coin to a tattered Colours. But to come again to our Subject. As we find on Medals the plans of ſeveral buildings that are now demoliſhed, we ſee on them too the Models of many ancient Statues that are now loſt. There are ſeveral Reverſes which are owned to be the repreſentations of antique figures, and I queſtion not but there are many others that were formed on the like Models, though at preſent they lie under no ſuſpicion of it. The *Hercules Farneſe*, the *Venus* of *Medicis*, the *Apollo* in the *Belvidera*, and the famous *Marcus Aurelius* on horſe-back, which are perhaps the four moſt beautiful Statues extant, make their appearance all of them on ancient Medals, though the figures that repreſent them were never thought to be the copies of ſtatues till the ſtatues themſelves were diſcovered. There is no queſtion, I think, but the ſame reflexion may extend it ſelf to antique Pictures: for I doubt not but in the deſigns of ſeveral *Greek* Medals in particular, one might often ſee the hand of an *Apelles* or *Protogenes*, were we as well acquainted with their works as we are with *Titian*'s or *Vandike*'s. I might here make a much greater ſhow of the Uſefulneſs of Medals, if I would take the method of others, and prove to you that all arts and ſciences receive a conſiderable illuſtration from this ſtudy. I muſt however tell you, that Medals and the Civil Law, as we are aſſured by thoſe who are well read in both, give a conſiderable light to each other, and that ſeveral old Coins are like ſo many maps for explaining of the ancient Geography. But beſides the more ſolid parts of learning, there are ſeveral little intimations to be met with on Medals that are very pleaſant to ſuch as are converſant in this kind of ſtudy. Should I tell you gravely, that without the help of Coins we ſhould never have known which was the firſt of the Emperors that wore a beard, or rode in ſtirrups, I might turn my ſcience into ridicule. Yet it is certain there are a thouſand little impertinencies of this nature that are very gratifying to curioſity, tho' perhaps not very improving to the underſtanding. To ſee the dreſs that ſuch an Empreſs delighted to be drawn in, the titles that were moſt agreeable to ſuch an Emperor, the flatteries that he lay moſt open to, the honours that he paid to his children, wives, predeceſſors, friends or collegues, with the like particularities only to be met with on Medals, are certainly not a little pleaſing to that inquiſitive temper which is ſo natural to the mind of man.

I declare to you, ſays *Cynthio*, you have aſtoniſhed me with the ſeveral parts of knowledge, that you have diſcovered on Medals. I could never fancy before this evening, that a Coin could have any nobler uſe in it than to pay a reckoning.

You have not heard all yet, ſays *Philander*, there is ſtill an advantage to be drawn from Medals, which I am ſure will heighten your eſteem for them. It is indeed an uſe that no body has hitherto dwelt upon. If any of the Antiquaries have touched upon it, they have immediately quitted it, without conſidering it in its full latitude, light and extent. Not to keep you in ſuſpence, I think there is a great affinity between Coins and Poetry, and that your Medalliſt and Critic are much nearer related than the world generally imagines. A reverſe often clears up the paſſage of an old poet, as the poet often ſerves to unriddle a reverſe. I could be longer on this head, but I fear I have already tired you. Nay, ſays *Eugenius*, ſince you have gone ſo far with us, we muſt beg you to finiſh your lecture, eſpecially ſince you are on a ſubject, that I dare promiſe you will be very agreeable to *Cynthio*, who is ſo profeſſed an admirer of the ancient poets. I muſt only warn you, that you do not charge your Coins with more uſes than they can bear. It is generally the method of ſuch as are in love with any particular ſcience to diſcover all others in it. Who would imagine, for example, that architecture ſhould comprehend the knowledge of hiſtory, ethics, muſic, aſtronomy, natural philoſophy, phyſic and the civil law? Yet *Vitruvius* will give you his reaſons, ſuch as they are, why a good architect is maſter of theſe ſeveral arts and ſciences. Sure, ſays *Cynthio*, *Martial* had never read *Vitruvius* when he threw the Cryer and the Architect into the ſame claſs.

Duri ſi puer ingeni videtur
Preconem facias vel architectum.

If of dull parts the ſtripling you ſuſpect,
A herald make him, or an architect.

But to give you an inſtance out of a very celebrated diſcourſe on poetry, becauſe we are on that ſubject, of an author's finding out imaginary beauties in his own art. *I have obſerved*, ſays he, (ſpeaking of the natural propenſion that all men have to numbers and harmony) *that my barber has often combed my head in Dactyls and Spondees, that is, with two ſhort ſtrokes and a long one, or with two long ones ſucceſſively. Nay*, ſays he, *I have known him ſometimes run even into Pyrrhichius's and Anapœſtus's.* This you will think perhaps a very extravagant fancy, but I muſt own I ſhould as ſoon expect to find the *Proſodia* in a Comb as Poetry in a Medal. Before I endeavour to convince you of it, ſays *Philander*, I muſt confeſs to you that this ſcience has its viſionaries as well as all others. There are ſeveral, for example, that will find a myſtery in every tooth of *Neptune*'s trident, and are amazed at the wiſdom of the ancients that repreſented a thunder-bolt with three forks, ſince, they will tell you, nothing could have better explained its triple quality of piercing, burning and melting. I have ſeen a long diſcourſe on the figure and nature of horn, to ſhew it was impoſſible to have found out a fitter emblem for plenty than the *Cornu-copiæ*. Theſe are a ſort of authors who ſcorn to take up with appearances, and fancy an interpretation vulgar when it is natural. What could have been more proper to ſhew the beauty and friendſhip of the three Graces, than to repreſent them naked and knitt

Voſſius de viribus Rythmi.

knitt together in a kind of dance? It is thus they always appear in ancient ſculpture, whether on Medals or in Marble, as I doubt not but *Horace* alludes to deſigns of this nature, when he deſcribes them after the ſame manner.

> ———*Gratia,*
> *Junctis nuda ſororibus:*
> ——*Segneſque nodum ſolvere Gratiæ.*

> The Siſter-*Graces* hand in hand
> Conjoin'd by love's eternal band.

Several of your Medalliſts will be here again aſtoniſhed at the wiſdom of the ancients, that knew how to couch ſuch excellent Precepts of morality under viſible objects. The nature of Gratitude, they will tell you, is better illuſtrated by this ſingle device, than by *Seneca*'s whole book *de Beneficiis.* The three Graces teach us three things. I. To remark the doing of a courteſie. II. The return of it from the receiver. III. The obligation of the receiver to acknowledge it. The three Graces are always hand in hand, to ſhow us that theſe three duties ſhould be never ſeparated. They are naked, to admoniſh us that Gratitude ſhould be returned with a free and open heart; and dancing, to ſhew us that no virtue is more active than Gratitude. May not we here ſay with *Lucretius*?

> *Quæ bene & eximie quanquam diſpoſta ferantur,*
> *Sunt longè tamen a verâ ratione repulſa.*

It is an eaſy thing, ſays *Eugenius*, to find out deſigns that never entered into the thoughts of the ſculptor or the coiner. I dare ſay, the ſame

Gentlemen who have fixed this piece of morality on the three naked Siſters dancing hand in hand, would have found out as good a one for them, had there been four of them ſitting at a diſtance from each other, and covered from head to foot. It is here therefore, ſays *Philander*, that the old Poets ſtep in to the aſſiſtance of the Medalliſt, when they give us the ſame thought in words as the maſters of the *Roman* mint have done in figures. A man may ſee a metaphor or an allegory in picture, as well as read them in a deſcription. When therefore I confront a Medal with a Verſe, I only ſhew you the ſame deſign executed by different hands, and appeal from one maſter to another of the ſame age and taſte. This is certainly a much ſurer way than to build on the interpretations of an author who does not conſider how the ancients uſed to think, but will be ſtill inventing myſteries and applications out of his own fancy. To make my ſelf more intelligible, I find a ſhield on the reverſe of an Emperor's Coin, deſigned as a compliment to him from the ſenate of *Rome*. I meet with the ſame metaphor in ancient poets to expreſs protection or defence. I conclude therefore that this Medal compliments the Emperor in the ſame ſenſe as the old *Romans* did their Dictator *Fabius* when they called him the Buckler of *Rome*. Put this reverſe now if you pleaſe into the hands of a myſtical antiquary: He ſhall tell you that the uſe of the ſhield being to defend the body from the weapons of an enemy, it very aptly ſhadows out to us the reſolution or continence of the Emperor, which made him proof to all the attacks of fortune or of pleaſure. In the next place, the figure of the ſhield being round it is an emblem of perfection, for *Ariſtotle* has ſaid the round figure is the moſt perfect. It may likewiſe ſignify the immortal reputation that the Emperor has acquired by his great actions, rotundity being an emblem of eternity that has neither beginning nor end. After this I dare not anſwer for the ſhield's convexity that it does not cover a myſtery, nay there ſhall not be the leaſt wrinkle or flouriſh upon it which will not turn to ſome account. In this caſe therefore * Poetry being in ſome reſpects an art of deſigning as well as Painting or Sculpture, they may ſerve as Comments on each other. I am very well ſatisfied, ſays *Eugenius*, by what you have ſaid on this ſubject, that the Poets may contribute to the explication of ſuch reverſes as are purely emblematical, or when the perſons are of that ſhadowy allegorical nature you have before mentioned, but I ſuppoſe there are many other reverſes that repreſent things and perſons of a more real exiſtence. In this caſe too, ſays *Philander*, a Poet lets you into the knowledge of a device better than a Proſe-writer, as his deſcriptions are often more diffuſe, his ſtory more naturally circumſtanced, and his language enriched with a greater variety of epithets: So that you often meet with little hints and ſuggeſtions in a Poet that give a great illuſtration to the cuſtoms, actions, ornaments, and all kinds of Antiquities that are to be met with on ancient Coins. I fancy, ſays *Cynthio*, there is nothing more ridiculous than an Antiquary's reading the *Greek* or

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* *Poema eſt pictura loquax.*

Latin Poets. He never thinks of the beauty of the thought or language, but is for ſearching into what he calls the Erudition of the Author. He will turn you over all *Virgil* to find out the figure of an old *Roſtrum*, and has the greateſt eſteem imaginable for *Homer*, becauſe has given us the faſhion of a *Greek* ſcepter. It is indeed odd enough to conſider how all kinds of Readers find their account in the old Poets. Not only your men of the more refined or ſolid parts of Learning, but even your Alchymiſt and Fortune-teller will diſcover the ſecrets of their art in *Homer* and *Virgil*. This, ſays *Eugenius*, is a prejudice of a very ancient ſtanding. Read but *Plutarch*'s diſcourſe on *Homer*, and you will ſee that the Iliad contains the whole circle of arts, and that *Thales* and *Pythagoras* ſtole all their philoſophy out of this Poet's works. One would be amazed to ſee what pains he takes to prove that *Homer* underſtood all the figures in Rhetoric, before they were invented. I do not queſtion, ſays *Philander*, were it poſſible for *Homer* to read his praiſes in this Author, but he would be as much ſurprized as ever Monſieur *Jordain* was when he had found he had talked Proſe all his life-time without ever knowing what it was. But to finiſh the task you have ſet me, we may obſerve that not only the Virtues, and the like imaginary perſons, but all the heathen Divinities appear generally in the ſame Dreſs among the Poets that they wear in Medals. I muſt confeſs, I believe both the one and the other took the Mode from the ancient *Greek* Statuaries. It will not perhaps be an improper tranſition to paſs from the heathen gods to the ſeveral monſters of antiquity, as *Chimæras*, *Gorgons*, *Sphinxes*, and many others that make the ſame figure in verſe as on coins. It often happens too, that the Poet and the Senate of *Rome* have both choſen the ſame Topic to flatter their Emperor upon, and have ſometimes fallen upon the ſame thought. It is certain, they both of them lay upon the catch for a great action: It is no wonder therefore, that they were often engaged on one ſubject, the Medal and the Poem being nothing elſe but occaſional compliments to the Emperor. Nay, I queſtion not but you may ſometimes find certain paſſages among the Poets that relate to the parcular device of a Medal.

I wonder, ſays *Eugenius*, that your Medalliſts have not been as diligent in ſearching the Poets as the Hiſtorians, ſince I find they are ſo capable of enlightning their art. I would have ſome body put the Muſes under a kind of contribution to furniſh out whatever they have in them that bears any relation to Coins. Though they taught us but the ſame things that might be learnt in other writings, they would at leaſt teach us more agreeably, and draw ſeveral over to the ſtudy of Medals that would rather be inſtructed in verſe than in proſe. I am glad, ſays *Philander*, to hear you of this opinion, for to tell you truly, when I was at *Rome*, I took occaſion to buy up many Imperial Medals that have any affinity with paſſages of the ancient Poets. So that I have by me a ſort of poetical Caſh, which I fancy I could count over to you in *Latin* and *Greek* verſe. If you will drink a diſh of Tea with me to-morrow morning, I will lay my whole collection before you. I cannot tell, ſays *Cynthio*, how the

Poets will ſucceed in the explication of coins, to which they are generally very great ſtrangers. We are however obliged to you for preventing us with the offer of a kindneſs that you might well imagine we ſhould have asked you.

Our three friends had been ſo intent on their diſcourſe, that they had rambled very far into the fields without taking notice of it. *Philander* firſt put them in mind, that unleſs they turned back quickly they would endanger being benighted. Their converſation ran inſenſibly into other ſubjects, but as I deſign only to report ſuch parts of it as have any relation to Medals, I ſhall leave them to return home as faſt as they pleaſe, without troubling my ſelf with their talk on the way thither, or with their ceremonies at parting.

DIALOGUE II.

SOME of the fineſt treatiſes of the moſt polite *Latin* and *Greek* writers are in Dialogue, as many very valued pieces of *French*, *Italian*, and *Engliſh* appear in the ſame dreſs. I have ſometimes however been very much diſtaſted at this way of writing, by reaſon of the long Prefaces and exordiums into which it often betrays an author. There is ſo much time taken up in ceremony, that before they enter on their ſubject the Dialogue is half ended. To avoid the fault I have found in others, I ſhall not trouble my ſelf nor my Reader with the firſt ſalutes of our three friends, nor with any part of their diſcourſe over the Tea-table. We will ſuppoſe the *China* diſhes taken off, and a Drawer of Medals ſupplying their room. *Philander*, who is to be the Heroe in my Dialogue, takes it in his hand, and addreſſing himſelf to *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*, I will firſt of all, ſays he, ſhow you an aſſembly of the moſt virtuous Ladies that you have ever perhaps converſed with. I do not know, ſays *Cynthio*, regarding them, what their virtue may be, but methinks they are a little fantaſtical in their dreſs. You will find, ſays *Philander*, there is good ſenſe in it. They have not a ſingle ornament that they cannot give a reaſon for. I was going to ask you, ſays *Eugenius*, in what country you find theſe Ladies. But I ſee they are ſome of thoſe imaginary perſons you told us of laſt night that inhabit old Coins, and appear no where elſe but on the reverſe of a Medal. Their proper country, ſays *Philander*, is the breaſt of a good man: for I think they are moſt of them the figures of Virtues. It is a great compliment methinks to the ſex, ſays *Cynthio*, that your Virtues are generally ſhown in petticoats. I can give no other reaſon for it, ſays *Philander*, but becauſe they chanced to be of the feminine gender in the learned languages. You find however ſomething bold and maſculine in the air and poſture of the firſt figure, which is that of *Virtue* her ſelf, and agrees very well with the deſcription we find of her in *Silius Italicus.*

Firſt Series.
FIGURE I.

Virtutis diſpar habitus, frons hirta, nec unquam
Compoſitâ mutata comâ, ſtans vultus, et ore
Inceſſuque viro propior, lætique pudoris,
Celſa humeris, niveæ fulgebat ſtamine pallæ.
Sil. It. L. 15.

A different form did *Virtue* wear,
Rude from her forehead fell th' unplaited hair,
With dauntleſs mien aloft ſhe rear'd her head,
And next to manly was the virgin's tread;
Her height, her ſprightly bluſh, the Goddeſs ſhow,
And robes unſullied as the falling ſnow.

Virtue and *Honour* had their Temples bordering on each other, and are ſometimes both on the ſame coin, as in the following one of *Galba.* *Silius Italicus* makes them companions in the glorious equipage that he gives his *Virtue.*

FIG. 2.

[Virtus loquitur.]
Mecum Honor, et Laudes, et læto Gloria vultu,
Et Decus, et niveis Victoria concolor alis. Ibid.

[*Virtue ſpeaks.*]
With me the foremoſt place let *Honour* gain,
Fame, and the *Praiſes* mingling in her train;
Gay *Glory* next, and *Victory* on high,
White like my ſelf, on ſnowy wings ſhall fly.

Tu cujus placido poſuere in pectore ſedem
Blandus Honos, hilariſque (tamen cum pondere) Virtus. Stat. Sil. l. 2.

The head of *Honour* is crowned with a Laurel, as *Martial* has adorned his *Glory* after the ſame manner, which indeed is but another name for the ſame perſon.

Mitte coronatas Gloria mæſta comas.

I find, ſays *Cynthio*, the *Latins* mean Courage by the figure of Virtue, as well as by the word it ſelf. Courage was eſteemed the greateſt perfection among them, and therefore went under the name of Virtue in general, as the modern *Italians* give the ſame name on the ſame account to the Knowledge of Curioſities. Should a *Roman* Painter at preſent draw the picture of Virtue, inſtead of the Spear and Paratonium that ſhe bears on old coins, he would give her a Buſt in one hand and a Fiddle in the other.

The next, ſays *Philander*, is a Lady of a more peaceful character, and had her Temple at *Rome*. FIG. 3.

——*Salutata*

——*Salutato crepitat Concordia nido.*

She is often placed on the reverſe of an Imperial coin to ſhow the good underſtanding between the Emperor and the Empreſs. She has always a *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand, to denote that Plenty is the fruit of Concord. After this ſhort account of the Goddeſs, I deſire you will give me your opinion of the Deity that is deſcribed in the following verſes of *Seneca*, who would have her propitious to the marriage of *Jaſon* and *Creuſa*. He mentions her by her qualities, and not by her name.

——————*Aſperi*
Martis ſanguineas quæ cohibet manus,
Quæ dat belligeris fœdera gentibus,
Et cornu retinet divite copiam. Sen.Med.Act.1.

Who ſooths great *Mars* the warriour God,
And checks his arm diſtain'd with blood,
Who joins in leagues the jarring lands,
The horn of Plenty fills her hands.

The deſcription, ſays *Eugenius*, is a copy of the figure we have before us: and for the future, inſtead of any further note on this paſſage, I would have the reverſe you have ſhown us ſtamped on the ſide of it. The interpreters of *Seneca*, ſays *Philander*, will underſtand the precedent verſes as a deſcription of *Venus*, though in my opinion there is only the firſt of them that can aptly relate to her, which at the ſame time agrees as well with *Concord:* and that this was a Goddeſs who uſed to intereſt her ſelf in marriages, we may ſee in the following deſcription.

——————*Jamdudum poſte reclinis,*
Quærit Hymen thalamis intactum dicere carmen,
Quo vatem mulcere queat; dat Juno verenda
Vincula, et inſigni geminat Concordia tædâ.
Statii Epithalamion. Silv. li. 1.

Already leaning at the door, too long
Sweet *Hymen* waits to raiſe the nuptial Song,
Her ſacred bands majeſtick *Juno* lends,
And *Concord* with her flaming torch attends.

Peace differs as little in her Dreſs as in her Character from *Concord.* You may obſerve in both theſe figures that the Veſt is gathered up before them, like an Apron, which you muſt ſuppoſe filled with fruits as well as the *Cornu-copiæ.* It is to this part of the Dreſs that *Tibullus* alludes.

FIG. 4.

At nobis, Pax alma, veni, ſpicamque teneto,
Perfluat et pomis candidus antè ſinus.

Kind *Peace* appear,
And in thy right hand hold the wheaten ear,
From thy white lap th' o'erflowing fruits ſhall fall.

Prudentius has given us the ſame circumſtance in his deſcription of Avarice.

— *Avaritia gremio præcincta capaci.*
Prud. Pſychomachia.

How proper the emblems of Plenty are to Peace, may be ſeen in the ſame Poet.

Interea Pax arva colat, Pax candida primùm
Duxit araturos ſub juga curva boves;
Pax aluit vites, et ſuccos condidit uvæ,
Funderet ut nato teſta paterna merum:
Pace bidens vomerque vigent.———
Tibul. El. 10. Lib. 1.

She firſt, White *Peace*, the earth with plough-ſhares broke,
And bent the oxen to the crooked yoke,
Firſt rear'd the vine, and hoarded firſt with care
The father's vintage for his drunken heir.

The Olive-branch in her hand is frequently touched upon in the old Poets as a token of Peace.

Pace orare manu——— Virg. Æn. 10.

Ingreditur, ramumque tenens popularis Olivæ.
Ov. Met. lib. 7.

In his right hand an Olive-branch he holds.

——————————*furorem*
Indomitum duramque viri deflectere mentem
Pacifico ſermone parant, hoſtemque propinquum
Orant Cecropiæ prælatâ fronde Minervæ.
Luc. lib. 3.

——To move his haughty ſoul they try
Intreaties, and perſwaſion ſoft apply;
Their brows *Minerva*'s peaceful branches wear,
And thus in gentleſt terms they greet his ear.
Mr. *Rowe*.

Which by the way one would think had been ſpoken rather of an *Attila*, or a *Maximin*, than *Julius Cæſar*.

You ſee *Abundance* or *Plenty* makes the ſame figure in Medals as in *Horace*. FIG. 5.

——————tibi Copia
Manabit ad plenum benigno
Ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 17.

——Here to thee ſhall Plenty flow
And all her riches ſhow,
To raiſe the honour of the quiet plain.
Mr. *Creech.*

The Compliment on this reverſe to *Gordianus Pius* is expreſſed in the ſame manner as that of *Horace* to *Auguſtus*.

——————Aurea fruges
Italiam pleno diffudit Copia cornu.
Hor. Epiſt. 12. Lib. 1.

— Golden *Plenty* with a bounteous hand
Rich harveſts freely ſcatters o'er our land.
Mr. *Creech.*

But to return again to our Virtues. FIG. 6. You have here the picture of *Fidelity*, who was worſhipped as a Goddeſs among the *Romans*.

Situ oblitus es at Dij meminerunt, meminit Fides.
Catul. ad Alphen.

I ſhould fancy, from the following verſes of *Vir-*

gil and *Silius Italicus*, that ſhe was repreſented under the figure of an old woman.

Cana Fides, et Veſta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Jura dabunt——— Virg. Æn. Lib. 1.

Then baniſh'd *Faith* ſhall once again return,
And veſtal fires in hallow'd temples burn,
And *Remus* with *Quirinus* ſhall ſuſtain
The righteous laws, and fraud and force re-
ſtrain. Mr. *Dryden.*

———————*ad limina ſanctæ*
Tendebat Fidei, ſecretaque pectora tentat.
Arcanis dea læta, polo tum ſorte remoto
Cœlicolum magnas volvebat conſcia curas.
Ante Jovem generata, decus divumque hominumque,
Quâ ſine non tellus pacem, non æquora norunt,
Juſtitiæ conſors——— Sil. It. Lib. 2.

He to the ſhrines of *Faith* his ſteps addreſt.
She, pleas'd with ſecrets rowling in her breaſt,
Far from the world remote, revolv'd on high
The cares of gods, and counſels of the sky.
Ere *Jove* was born ſhe grac'd the bright abodes,
Conſort of *Juſtice*, boaſt of men and gods;
Without whoſe heavenly aid no peace below
The ſtedfaſt earth, and rowling ocean know.

Fig. 7. There is a Medal of *Heliogabalus* inſcrib'd Fides Exercitus, that receives a great light from the preceding verſes. She is poſted between two military Enſigns, for the good quality that the Poet aſcribes

to her of preſerving the publick peace, by keeping the Army true to its Allegiance.

I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, as you have diſcovered the Age of this imaginary Lady from the deſcription that the Poets have made of her, you may find too the colour of the Drapery that ſhe wore in the old *Roman* paintings, from that verſe in *Horace*,

Te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
Velata panno —— —— Hor. Od. 35. Lib. 1.

Sure *Hope* and *Friendſhip* cloath'd in White,
Attend on thee. —— —— Mr. *Creech.*

One would think, ſays *Philander*, by this verſe, that *Hope* and *Fidelity* had both the ſame kind of Dreſs. It is certain *Hope* might have a fair pretence to White, in alluſion to thoſe that were Candidates for an employ.

—— —— *quem ducit hiantem*
Cretata ambitio —— —— Perſ. Sat. 5.

And how properly the Epithet of *Rara* agrees with her, you may ſee in the tranſparency of the next figure. She is here FIG. 8. dreſſed in ſuch a kind of Veſt as the *Latins* call a *Multicium* from the fineneſs of its Tiſſue. Your *Roman* Beaus had their ſummer *toga* of ſuch a light airy make.

Quem tenues decuere togæ nitidique capilli.
Hor. Ep. 14. Lib. 1.

I that lov'd ——
Curl'd powder'd locks, a fine and gawdy gown.
Mr. *Creech*.

I remember, ſays *Cynthio*, *Juvenal* rallys *Creticus*, that was otherwiſe a brave rough fellow, very handſomely, on this kind of garment.

— — — — *ſed quid*
Non facient alij cum tu multitia ſumas,
Cretice? et hanc veſtem populo mirante perores
In Proculas et Pollineas. — — Juv. Sat. 2.
Acer et indomitus Libertatiſque magiſter,
Cretice, pelluces — —— Ibid.

—— —— Nor, vain *Metellus*, ſhall
From *Rome*'s Tribunal thy harangues prevail
'Gainſt harlotry, while thou art clad ſo thin,
That thro' thy Cobweb-robe we ſee thy skin,
As thou declaim'ſt — —— Mr. *Tate*.
Can'ſt thou reſtore old manners, or retrench
Rome's pride, who com'ſt tranſparent to the
Bench? *Idem*.

But pray what is the meaning that this tranſparent Lady holds up her train in her left hand? for I find your women on Medals do nothing without a meaning. Beſides, I ſuppoſe there is a moral precept at leaſt couch'd under the figure ſhe holds in her other hand. She draws back her garment, ſays *Philander*, that it may not incumber her in her march. For ſhe is always drawn in a poſture of walking, it being as natural for *Hope* to preſs forward to her proper objects, as for *Fear* to fly from them.

Ut canis in vacuo leporem cum Gallicus arvo
Vidit, et hic prædam pedibus petit, ille ſalutem:
Alter in-hæſuro ſimilis, jam jamque tenere
Sperat, et extento ſtringit veſtigia roſtro;
Alter in ambiguo eſt an ſit comprenſus, et ipſis
Morſibus eripitur, tangentiaque ora relinquit:
Sic deus et virgo eſt: hic ſpe celer, illa timore.
De Apol. et Daph. Ov. Met. Lib. 1.

As when th' impatient Greyhound ſlipt from far,
Bounds o'er the glebe to catch the fearful Hare,
She in her ſpeed does all her ſafety lay:
And he with double ſpeed purſues the prey;
O'er-runs her at the ſitting turn, and licks
His chaps in vain, and blows upon the flix:
She 'ſcapes, and for the neighb'ring covert ſtrives,
And gaining ſhelter doubts if yet ſhe lives: ——
Such was the god, and ſuch the flying fair,
She, urg'd by Fear, her feet did ſwiftly move,
But he more ſwiftly who was urg'd by Love.
Mr. *Dryden.*

This beautiful ſimilitude is, I think, the prettieſt Emblem in the world of *Hope* and *Fear* in extremity. A flower or bloſſome that you ſee in the right hand is a proper ornament for *Hope*, ſince they are theſe that we term in poetical language the Hopes of the year.

Vere novo, tunc herba nitens, et roboris expers
Turget et inſolida eſt, et Spe delectat agreſtes.
Omnia tum florent florumque coloribus almus
Ridet ager —— —— Ov. Met. Lib. 15.

The green ſtem grows in ſtature and in ſize,
But only feeds with Hope the Farmer's eyes;

Then laughs the childiſh year with flowrets crown'd,
And laviſhly perfumes the fields around.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The ſame Poet in his *De faſtis*, ſpeaking of the Vine in flower, expreſſes it

In ſpe vitis erat ——— Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 5.

FIG. 9. The next on the Liſt is a Lady of a contrary character, and therefore in a quite different poſture. As *Security* is free from all purſuits, ſhe is repreſented leaning careleſly on a pillar. *Horace* has drawn a pretty metaphor from this poſture.

Nullum me a labore reclinat otium.

No eaſe doth lay me down from pain.
Mr. *Creech.*

She reſts her ſelf on a pillar, for the ſame reaſon as the Poets often compare an obſtinate reſolution or a great firmneſs of mind, to a rock that is not to be moved by all the aſſaults of winds or waves.

Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus inſtantis tyranni,
Mente quatit ſolidâ, neque Auſter
Dux inquietæ turbidus Adriæ, &c. Hor.

The man reſolv'd, and ſteady to his truſt,
Inflexible to ill, and obſtinately juſt,
May the rude rabble's inſolence deſpiſe,
Their ſenſeleſs clamours and tumultuous cries;

The tyrant's fierceneſs he beguiles,
And the ſtern brow and the harſh voice defies,
And with ſuperior greatneſs ſmiles.
Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
Adria's black gulf——*&c.* Mr. *Creech.*

I am apt to think it was on Devices of this nature that *Horace* had his eye in his Ode to *Fortune*. It is certain he alludes to a pillar that figured out *Security*, or ſomething very like it; and till any body finds out another that will ſtand better in its place, I think we may content our ſelves with this before us.

Te Dacus aſper, te profugi Scythæ
Urbeſque genteſque et Latium ferox,
Regumque matres barbarorum, et
Purpurei metuunt tyranni:
Injurioſo nè pede proruas
Stantem columnam; neu populus frequens
Ad arma ceſſantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat.
Ad Fortunam. Hor. Lib. 1. Od. 35.

To thee their vows rough *Germans* pay,
To thee the wandring *Scythians* bend,
Thee mighty *Rome* proclaims a friend:
And for their Tyrant ſons
The barb'rous Mothers pray
To thee, the greateſt guardian of their Thrones.

They bend, they vow, and ſtill they fear,
Leſt you ſhould kick their Column down,
And cloud the glory of their Crown;
They fear that you would raiſe

The lazy crowd to war,
And break their Empire, or confine their praiſe.
Mr. *Creech.*

I muſt however be ſo fair as to let you know that *Peace* and *Felicity* have their pillars in ſeveral Medals as well as *Security*, ſo that if you do not like one of them, you may take the other.

FIG. 10. The next Figure is that of *Chaſtity*, who was worſhipped as a Goddeſs, and had her Temple.

> — — —*deinde ad ſuperos Aſtræa receſſit*
> *Hâc comite, atque duæ pariter fugere ſorores.*
> De pudicitia. Juv. Sat. 6.

> At length uneaſy *Juſtice* upwards flew,
> And both the Siſters to the Stars withdrew.
> Mr. *Dryden.*

> *Templa pudicitiæ quid opus ſtatuiſſe puellis,*
> *Si cuivis nuptæ quidlibet eſſe licet?* Tib. Lib. 2.

> Since wives whate'er they pleaſe unblam'd can be,
> Why rear we uſeleſs Fanes to *Chaſtity*?

How her poſture and dreſs become her, you may ſee in the following verſes.

> *Ergo ſedens velat vultus, obnubit ocellos*
> *Iſta verecundi ſigna Pudoris erant.* Alciat.

> She ſits, her viſage veil'd, her eyes conceal'd,
> By marks like theſe was *Chaſtity* reveal'd.

Ite procul vittæ tenues, inſigne pudoris,
Quæque tegit medios inſtita longa pedes.
Ov. de Art. Aman.

— — frontem limbo velata pudicam.
Claud. de Theod. Conſ.

Hence! ye ſmooth fillets on the forehead bound,
Whoſe bands the brows of *Chaſtity* ſurround,
And her coy Robe that lengthens to the ground.

She is repreſented in the habit of a *Roman* Matron.

Matronæ præter faciem nil cernere poſſis,
Cætera, ni Catia eſt, demiſſâ veſte tegentis.
Hor. Sat. 2. Lib. 1.

Beſides, a Matron's face is ſeen alone;
But *Kate*'s, that female bully of the town,
For all the reſt is cover'd with a gown.
Mr. *Creech.*

That, *ni Catia eſt*, ſays *Cynthio*, is a beauty unknown to moſt of our *Engliſh* Satyriſts. *Horace* knew how to ſtab with addreſs, and to give a thruſt where he was leaſt expected *Boileau* has nicely imitated him in this, as well as his other beauties. But our *Engliſh* Libellers are for hewing a man down-right, and for letting him ſee at a diſtance that he is to look for no mercy. I own to you, ſays *Eugenius*, I have often admired this piece of art in the two Satyriſts you mention, and have been ſurprized to meet with a man in a Satire that I never in the leaſt expected to find there. They have a particular way of hiding their ill-nature, and introduce a criminal rather to illuſtrate a precept or paſſage, than out of any ſeeming deſign to abuſe him. Our *Engliſh* Poets on the contrary ſhow a kind of malice prepenſe in their Satires, and inſtead of bringing in the perſon to give light to any part of the Poem, let you ſee they writ the whole Poem on purpoſe to abuſe the perſon. But we muſt not leave the Ladies thus. Pray what kind of head-dreſs is that of *Piety*?

As *Chaſtity*, ſays *Philander*, appears in the habit of a *Roman* matron, in whom that Virtue was ſuppoſed to reign in its perfection, *Piety* wears the dreſs of the Veſtal Virgins, who were the greateſt and moſt ſhining examples of it. *Vittata Sacerdos* is you know an Expreſſion among the *Latin* Poets. I do not queſtion but you have ſeen in the Duke of *Florence*'s gallery a beautiful antique figure of a woman ſtanding before an Altar, which ſome of the Antiquaries call a *Piety*, and others a Veſtal Virgin. The woman, Altar, and fire burning on it, are ſeen in marble exactly as in this coin, and bring to my mind a part of a ſpeech that *Religion* makes in *Phædrus*'s fables.

FIG. 11:

Sed ne ignis noſter facinori præluceat,
Per quem verendos excolit Pietas deos.
Fab. 10. Li. 4.

It is to this Goddeſs that *Statius* addreſſes himſelf in the following lines.

Summa deum Pietas! cujus gratiſſima cœlo
Rara profanatas inſpectant numina terras,
Huc vittata comam, niveoque inſignis amictu,

Qualis adhuc præſens, nullâque expulſa nocentum
Fraude rudes populos atque aurea regna colebas,
Mitibus exequiis ades, et lugentis Hetruſci
Cerne pios fletus, laudataque lumina terge.
Statius Silv. Li. 3.

Chief of the Skies, celeſtial *Piety!*
Whoſe god-head, priz'd by thoſe of heavenly birth,
Reviſits rare theſe tainted realms of Earth,
Mild in thy milk-white veſt, to ſooth my friend,
With holy fillets on thy brows deſcend,
Such as of old (ere chac'd by Guilt and Rage)
A race unpoliſh'd, and a golden age,
Beheld thee frequent. Once more come below,
Mix in the ſoft ſolemnities of woe,
See, ſee, thy own *Hetruſcus* waſtes the day
In pious grief; and wipe his tears away.

The little trunk ſhe holds in her left hand is the *Acerra* that you ſo often find among the Poets, in which the frankincenſe was preſerv'd that *Piety* is here ſuppoſed to ſtrow on the fire.

Dantque ſacerdoti cuſtodem thuris acerram.
Ov. Met. Li. 13.

Hæc tibi pro nato plenâ dat lætus acerrâ
Phœbe ——— —— Mart. Li. 4. Epig. 45.

The figure of *Equity* differs but little from that our painters make of her at preſent. The ſcales ſhe carries in her hand are ſo natural an emblem of juſtice, that *Perſius* has turned them into an allegory to expreſs the deciſions of right or wrong. FIG. 12.

—— —— ——— Quirites
Hoc puto non juſtum eſt, illud male, rectius iſtud;
Scis etenim juſtum geminâ ſuſpendere lance
Ancipitis Libræ. —— —— ——
Socrat. ad Alcibiad. Sat. 4.

—— —— —— *Romans*, know,
Againſt right reaſon all your counſels go;
This is not fair; nor profitable that:
Nor t'other queſtion proper for debate.
But thou, no doubt, canſt ſet the buſineſs right,
And give each argument its proper weight:
Know'ſt with an equal hand to hold the ſcale, *&c.*
Mr. *Dryden.*

Fig. 13. The next figure I preſent you with is *Eternity*. She holds in her hand a globe with a Phænix on it. How proper a type of *Eternity* is each of theſe you may ſee in the following quotations. I am ſure you will pardon the length of the latter as it is not improper to the occaſion, and ſhows at the ſame time the great fruitfulneſs of the Poet's fancy, that could turn the ſame thought to ſo many different ways.

Hæc Æterna manet, diviſque ſimillima forma eſt,
Cui neque principium eſt uſquam, nec finis: in ipſo
Sed ſimilis toto remanet, perque omnia par eſt.
de Rotunditate Corporum. Manil. Li. 1.

This form's eternal, and may juſtly claim
A god-like nature, all its parts the ſame;
Alike, and equal to its ſelf 'tis found,
No end's and no beginning in a round:
Nought

Nought can moleſt its Being, nought controul,
And this enobles, and confines the whole.
Mr. *Creech.*

Par volucer ſuperis: Stellas qui vividus æquat
Durando, membriſque terit redeuntibus ævum.--
Nam pater eſt proleſque ſui, nulloque creante
Emeritos artus fœcunda morte reformat,
Et petit alternam totidem per funera vitam. ——
O ſenium poſiture rogo, falſiſque ſepulchris
Natales habiture vices, qui ſæpe renaſci
Exitio, proprioque ſoles pubeſcere letho. ——
O felix, hæreſque tui! quo ſolvimur omnes,
Hoc tibi ſuppeditat vires, præbetur origo
Per cinerem, moritur te non pereunte ſenectus.
Vidiſti quodcunque fuit. Te ſecula teſte
Cuncta revolvuntur: noſti quo tempore pontus
Fuderit elatas ſcopulis ſtagnantibus undas:
Quis Phaetonteis erroribus arſerit annus.
Et clades Te nulla rapit, ſoluſque ſuperſtes
Edomitâ tellure manes, non ſtamina Parcæ
In Te dura legunt, non jus habuere nocendi.
de Phœnice. Claud.

A God-like bird! whoſe endleſs round of years
Outlaſts the ſtars, and tires the circling ſpheres;—
Begot by none himſelf, begetting none,
Sire of himſelf he is, and of himſelf the ſon;
His life in fruitful death renews its date,
And kind deſtruction but prolongs his fate.——
O thou, ſays he, whom harmleſs fires ſhall burn }
Thy age the flame to ſecond youth ſhall turn, }
An infant's cradle is thy fun'ral urn. —— }
Thrice happy *Phœnix!* Heav'n's peculiar care
Has made thy ſelf thy ſelf's ſurviving heir.

By Death thy deathleſs vigour is ſupply'd,
Which ſinks to ruine all the world beſide.
Thy age, not thee, aſſiſting *Phœbus* burns,
And vital flames light up thy fun'ral Urns.
Whate'er events have been thy eyes ſurvey,
And thou art fix'd while ages roll away.
Thou ſaw'ſt when raging ocean burſt his bed,
O'er-top'd the mountains, and the earth o'erſpread;
When the raſh youth inflam'd the high abodes,
Scorch'd up the skies, and ſcar'd the deathleſs Gods.
When nature ceaſes, thou ſhalt ſtill remain,
Nor ſecond Chaos bound thy endleſs reign;
Fate's tyrant laws thy happier lot ſhall brave,
Baffle deſtruction, and elude the grave.

The circle of rays that you ſee round the head of the *Phœnix* diſtinguiſh him to be the bird and offſpring of the Sun.

Solis avi ſpecimen ———
Una eſt quæ reparet ſeque ipſa reſeminet ales;
Aſſyrii Phœnica vocant: non fruge neque herbis,
Sed Thuris lacrymis, et ſucco vivit amomi.
Hæc ubi quinque ſuæ complevit ſecula vitæ,
Ilicis in ramis, tremulæve cacumine palmæ,
Unguibus et duro ſibi nidum conſtruit ore:
Quo ſimul ac caſias, ac nardi lenis ariſtas
Quaſſaque cum fulvâ ſubſtravit cinnama myrrhâ,
Se ſuper imponit, finitque in odoribus ævum.
Inde ferunt totidem qui vivere debeat annos
Corpore de patrio parvum phœnica renaſci.
Cum dedit huic ætas vires, onerique ferendo eſt,
Ponderibus nidi ramos levat arboris altæ,

Fertque pius cunaſque ſuas, patriumque ſepulcrum,
Perque leves auras Hyperionis urbe potitus
Ante fores ſacras Hyperionis æde reponit.
Ov. Met. Li. 15.
——*Titanius ales.* Claud. de Phænice.

—From himſelf the *Phœnix* only ſprings:
Self-born, begotten by the parent Flame,
In which he burn'd, another and the ſame.
Who not by corn or herbs his life ſuſtains,
But the ſweet eſſence of *Amomum* drains:
And watches the rich gums *Arabia* bears,
While yet in tender dew they drop their tears.
He (his five centuries of life fulfill'd)
His neſt on oaken boughs begins to build,
Or trembling tops of Palm, and firſt he draws
The plan with his broad bill and crooked claws,
Nature's artificers; on this the pile
Is form'd, and riſes round; then with the ſpoil
Of *Caſia*, *Cynamon*, and ſtems of *Nard*,
(For ſoftneſs ſtrew'd beneath) his fun'ral bed is rear'd:
Fun'ral and bridal both; and all around
The borders with corruptleſs Myrrh are crown'd,
On this incumbent; 'till ætherial flame
Firſt catches, then conſumes, the coſtly frame;
Conſumes him too, as on the pile he lies;
He liv'd on odours, and in odours dies.
An Infant-*Phœnix* from the former ſprings,
His father's heir, and from his tender wings
Shakes off his parent duſt, his method he purſues,
And the ſame leaſe of life on the ſame terms renews.
When grown to manhood he begins his reign,
And with ſtiff pinions can his flight ſuſtain,

He lightens of its load the tree, that bore
His father's royal ſepulchre before,
And his own cradle: This (with pious care,
Plac'd on his back) he cuts the buxom air,
Seeks the Sun's city, and his ſacred church,
And decently lays down his burthen in the porch.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Sic ubi fœcundâ reparavit morte juventam,
Et patrios idem cineres, collectaque portat
Unguibus oſſa piis, Nilique ad littora tendens
Unicus extremo Phœnix procedit ab Euro:
Conveniunt Aquilæ, cunctæque ex orbe volucres
Ut Solis mirentur avem — —
Claud. de laud. Stil. L. 2.

So when his parent's pile hath ceas'd to burn,
Tow'rs the young *Phænix* from the teeming urn:
And from the purple eaſt, with pious toil
Bears the dear reliques to the diſtant *Nile*;
Himſelf a ſpecies! Then, the bird of *Jove*,
And all his plumy nation quit the grove;
The gay harmonious train delighted gaze,
Crowd the proceſſion, and reſound his praiſe.

The radiated head of the *Phænix* gives us the meaning of a paſſage in *Auſonius*, which I was formerly ſurprized to meet with in the deſcription of a Bird. But at preſent I am very well ſatisfied the Poet muſt have had his eye on the figure of this Bird in ancient ſculpture and painting, as indeed it was impoſſible to take it from the life.

Ter nova Neſtoreos implevit purpura fuſos,
Et toties terno cornix vivacior ævo,

Quam novies terni glomerantem ſecula tractûs
Vincunt æripedes ter terno Neſtore cervi,
Tres quorum ætates ſuperat Phœbeijus oſcen,
Quem novies ſenior Gangeticus anteit ales,
Ales cinnameo radiatus tempora nido.
Auſon. Eidyll. 11.

Arcanum radiant oculi jubar. igneus ora
Cingit honos, rutilo cognatum vertice ſidus
Attollit criſtatus apex, tenebraſque ſerenâ
Luce ſecat —— —— Claud. de Phæn.

His fiery eyes ſhoot forth a glitt'ring ray,
And round his head ten thouſand glories play:
High on his creſt, a Star celeſtial bright
Divides the darkneſs with its piercing light.

——— —— —— *Procul ignea lucet*
Ales, odorati redolent cui cinnama buſti.
Cl. de laud. Stil. L. 2.

If you have a mind to compare this ſcale of Beings with that of *Heſiod*, I ſhall give it you in a tranſlation of that Poet.

Ter binos deciesque novem ſuper exit in annos
Juſta ſeneſcentum quos implet vita virorum.
Hos novies ſuperat vivendo garrula Cornix:
Et quater egreditur cornicis ſæcula cervus.
Alipedem cervum ter vincit Corvus: at illum
Multiplicat novies Phœnix, reparabicis ales.
Quam vos perpetuo decies prævertitis ævo
Nymphæ Hamadryades: quarum longiſſima vita eſt:
Hi cohibent fines vivacia fata animantum.
Auſon. Eidyll. 18.

The utmoſt age to man the Gods aſſign
Are winters three times two, and ten times nine:
Poor man nine times the prating Dawes exceed:
Three times the Dawe's the Deer's more laſting breed:
The Deer's full thrice the Raven's race outrun:
Nine times the Raven *Titan*'s feather'd ſon:
Beyond his age, with youth and beauty crown'd,
The *Hamadryads* ſhine ten ages round:
Their breath the longeſt is the Fates beſtow;
And ſuch the bounds to mortal lives below.

A man had need be a good Arithmetician, ſays *Cynthio*, to underſtand this Author's works. His deſcription runs on like a Multiplication Table. But methinks the Poets ought to have agreed a little better in the calculations of a Bird's life that was probably of their own creation.

FIG. 14.

We generally find a great confuſion in the traditions of the ancients, ſays *Philander*. It ſeems to me, from the next Medal, it was an opinion among them, that the *Phœnix* renewed her ſelf at the beginning of the great year, and the return of the Golden Age. This opinion I find touched upon in a couple of lines in *Claudian.*

Quicquid ab externis ales longæva colonis
Colligit, optati referens exordia ſæcli.
Claud. de rapt. Proſ. Li. 2.

The perſon in the midſt of the circle is ſuppoſed to be *Jupiter*, by the Author that has publiſhed this Medal, but I ſhould rather take it for the figure of Time. I remember I have ſeen at *Rome* an antique Statue of Time, with a wheel or hoop of marble in his hand, as *Seneca* deſcribes him, and not with a ſerpent as he is generally repreſented.

— — — properat curſu
Vita citato, volucrique die
Rota præcipitis volvitur anni. Herc. fur. Act. 1.

Life poſts away,
And day from day drives on with ſwift career
The wheel that hurries on the headlong year.

As the circle of marble in his hand repreſents the common year, ſo this that encompaſſes him is a proper repreſentation of the great year, which is the whole round and comprehenſion of Time. For when this is finiſhed, the heavenly bodies are ſuppoſed to begin their courſes anew, and to meaſure over again the ſeveral periods and diviſions of years, months, days, *&c.* into which the great year is diſtinguiſhed.

——conſumto, Magnus qui dicitur, anno
Rurſus in antiquum venient vaga ſidera curſum:
Qualia diſpoſiti ſteterant ob origine mundi.
Auſon. Eidyl. 18.

When round the great Platonick year has turn'd,
In their old ranks the wandring ſtars ſhall ſtand
As when firſt marſhall'd by th' Almighty's hand.

To ſum up therefore the thoughts of this Medal. The inſcription teaches us that the whole deſign muſt refer to the Golden Age which it lively repreſents,

preſents, if we ſuppoſe the circle that encompaſſes *Time*, or if you pleaſe *Jupiter*, ſignifies the finiſhing of the great year; and that the *Phœnix* figures out the beginning of a new ſeries of time. So that the compliment on this Medal to the Emperor *Adrian*, is in all reſpects the ſame that *Virgil* makes to *Pollio*'s ſon, at whoſe birth he ſuppoſes the *annus magnus* or platonical year run out, and renewed again with the opening of the Golden Age.

Magnus ab integro ſæclorum naſcitur ordo;
Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna:
Et nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto.
Virg. Ec. 4.

The time is come the *Sibyls* long foretold,
And the bleſt maid reſtores the Age of Gold,
In the great wheel of *Time* before enroll'd.
Now a new progeny from Heav'n deſcends.
Ld. *Lauderdale*.

—— —— nunc adeſt mundo dies
Supremus ille, qui premat genus impium
Cœli ruinâ; rurſus ut ſtirpem novam
Generet renaſcens melior: ut quondam tulit
Juvenis tenente regna Saturno poli.
Sen. Oet. Act. 2.

——The laſt great day is come,
When earth and all her impious ſons ſhall lie
Cruſht in the ruines of the falling sky,
Whence freſh ſhall riſe, her new-born realms to grace,
A pious offspring and a purer race,

Such as ere-while in golden ages ſprung,
When *Saturn* govern'd, and the world was young.

You may compare the deſign of this reverſe, if you pleaſe, with one of *Conſtantine*, ſo far as the *Phœnix* is concerned in both. As for the other figure, we may have occaſion to ſpeak of it in another place. *Vid.* 15 figure. King of *France*'s Medalions.

The next figure ſhadows out *Eternity* to us, by the Sun in one hand and the Moon in the other, which in the language of ſacred poetry is *as long as the Sun and Moon endureth.* The heathens made choice of theſe Lights as apt ſymbols of *Eternity*, becauſe, contrary to all ſublunary Beings, though they ſeem to periſh every night, they renew themſelves every morning. FIG. 16.

Soles occidere et redire poſſunt;
Nobis cum ſemel occidit brevis lux,
Nox eſt perpetua una dormienda. Catul.

The Suns ſhall often fall and riſe:
But when the ſhort-liv'd mortal dies
A night eternal ſeals his eyes.

Horace, whether in imitation of *Catullus* or not, has applied the ſame thought to the Moon: and that too in the plural number.

Damna tamen celeres reparant cœleſtia lunæ:
Nos ubi decidimus

Quò pius Æneas, quò Tullus dives, et Ancus,
Pulvis et umbra ſumus. Hor. Od. 7. Lib. 4.

Each loſs the haſtning Moon repairs again.
But we when once our race is done,
With *Tullus* and *Anchiſes'* ſon,
(Tho' rich like one, like t'other good)
To duſt and ſhades, without a Sun,
Deſcend, and ſink in dark oblivion's flood.
Sir *W. Temple.*

Fig. 17. In the next figure *Eternity* ſits on a globe of the heavens adorned with ſtars. We have already ſeen how proper an emblem of *Eternity* the globe is, and may find the duration of the ſtars made uſe of by the Poets, as an expreſſion of what is never like to end.

—— ——— *Stellas qui vividus æquas*
Durando ——— Claud.

—— —— —*Polus dum ſidera paſcet,*
Semper honos nomenque tuum laudeſque manebunt.
Virg. Æn. L. 1.

Lucida dum current annoſi ſidera mundi, &c.
Sen. Med.

Vid. **Fig. 13.** I might here tell you that *Eternity* has a covering on her head, becauſe we can never find out her beginning; that her legs are bare, becauſe we ſee only thoſe parts of her that are actually running on; that ſhe ſits on a globe and bears a ſcepter in her hand, to ſhew that ſhe is ſovereign Miſtreſs of all things: but for any of theſe aſſertions I have no warrant from the Poets.

You muſt excuſe me, if I have been longer than ordinary on ſuch a ſubject as *Eternity*. The next you ſee is *Victory*, to whom the Medalliſts as well as Poets never fail to give a pair of wings. FIG. 18.

Adſuit ipſa ſuis Ales Victoria ——
Claud. de 6. Conſ. Honor.

——*dubiis volitat Victoria pennis.* Ov.

——*niveis Victoria concolor alis.* Sil. It.

The palm branch and lawrel were both the rewards of Conquerors, and therefore no improper ornaments for *Victory*.

——*lentæ Victoris præmia palmæ.* Ov. Met.

Et palmæ pretium Victoribus. Virg. Æn. 5.

Tu ducibus lætis aderis cum læta triumphum
Vox canet, et longas viſent capitolia pompas.
Apollo ad Laurum. Ov. Met.

Thou ſhalt the *Roman* feſtivals adorn;
Thou ſhalt returning *Cæſar*'s triumphs grace,
When pomps ſhall in a long proceſſion paſs.
Dryden.

By the way you may obſerve the lower plaits of the Drapery that ſeem to have gathered the wind into them. I have ſeen abundance of antique figures in Sculpture and Painting, with juſt the ſame turn in the lower foldings of the Veſt, when the perſon that wears it is in a poſture of tripping forward.

> *Obviaque adverſas vibrabant flamina Veſtes.*
> Ov. Met. Lib. 1.

> — — — As ſhe fled, the wind
> Increaſing ſpread her flowing hair behind;
> And left her legs and thighs expos'd to view.
> *Dryden.*

> —*tenues ſinuantur flamine veſtes.* Id. Lib. 2.

It is worth while to compare this figure of *Victory* with her Statue as it is deſcribed in a very beautiful paſſage of *Prudentius.*

> *Non aris non farre molæ Victoria felix*
> *Exorata venit: labor impiger, aſpera virtus,*
> *Vis animi, excellens ardor, violentia, cura,*
> *Hanc tribuunt, durum tractandis robur in armis.*
> *Quæ ſi defuerint bellantibus, aurea quamvis*
> *Marmoreo in templo rutilas Victoria pinnas*
> *Explicet, et multis ſurgat formata talentis:*
> *Non aderit veſtiſque offenſa videbitur haſtis.*
> *Quid miles propriis diffiſus viribus optas*
> *Irrita fœmineæ tibimet ſolatia formæ?*
> *Nunquam pennigeram legio ferrata puellam*
> *Vidit anhelantum regeret quæ tela virorum.*
> *Vincendi quæris dominam? ſua dextra cuique eſt,*
> *Et Deus omnipotens. Non pexo crine virago,*
> *Nec nudo ſuſpenſa pede, ſtrophioque revincta,*
> *Nec tumidas fluitante ſinu veſtita papillas.*
> Prudentius contra Symm. Lib. 2.

> Shall *Victory* intreated lend her aid
> For cakes of flower on ſmoaking Altars laid?

Her help from toils and watchings hope to find,
From the ſtrong body, and undaunted mind:
If theſe be wanting on th' embattel'd plain,
Ye ſue the unpropitious maid in vain.
Though in her marble temples taught to blaze
Her dazling wings the golden dame diſplays,
And many a talent in due weight was told
To ſhape her God-head in the curious mould,
Shall the rough ſoldier of himſelf deſpair,
And hope for female viſions in the air?
What legion ſheath'd in iron e'er ſurvey'd
Their darts directed by this winged maid!
Do'ſt thou the power that gives ſucceſs demand?
'Tis He th' Almighty, and thy own right hand;
Not the ſmooth Nymph, whoſe locks in knots are twin'd,
Who bending ſhows her naked foot behind,
Who girds the virgin zone beneath her breaſt,
And from her boſom heaves the ſwelling veſt.

You have here another *Victory* that I fancy *Claudian* had in his view when he mentions her wings, palm and trophy in the following deſcription. It appears on a Coin of *Conſtantine* who lived about an age before *Claudian*, and I believe we ſhall find that it is not the only piece of antique ſculpture that this Poet has copied out in his deſcriptions. FIG. 19.

——cum totis exurgens ardua pennis
Ipſa duci ſacras Victoria panderet ædes,
Et palma viridi gaudens, et amicta tropbæis.
Claud. de Lau. Stil. Li. 3.

On all her plumage riſing, when ſhe threw
Her ſacred ſhrines wide-open to thy view,
How pleas'd for thee her emblems to diſplay,
With palms diſtinguiſh'd, and with trophies gay.

FIG. 20. The laſt of our imaginary Beings is *Liberty*. In her left hand ſhe carries the wand that the *Latins* call the *Rudis* or *Vindicta*, and in her right the cap of Liberty. The Poets uſe the ſame kinds of metaphors to expreſs Liberty. I ſhall quote *Horace* for the firſt, whom *Ovid* has imitated on the ſame occaſion, and for the latter *Martial*.

——donatum jam rude quæris
Mecænas iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
Hor. Lib. 1. Epiſt. 1.

——tardâ vires minuente ſenectâ
Me quoque donari jam rude tempus erat.
Ov. de Tr. Lib. 4. El. 8.

Since bent beneath the load of years I ſtand,
I too might claim the freedom-giving wand.

Quod te nomine jam tuo ſaluto
Quem regem, et dominum priùs vocabam,
Nè me dixeris eſſe contumacem
Totis pilea ſarcinis redemi.
Mar. Lib. 2. Epig. 68.

By thy plain name though now addreſt,
Though once my King and Lord confeſt,
Frown not: with all my goods I buy
The precious Cap of Liberty.

I cannot forbear repeating a paſſage out of *Perſius*, ſays *Cynthio*, that in my opinion turns the ceremony of making a Freeman very handſomely into ridicule. It ſeems the clapping a Cap on his head and giving him a Turn on the heel were neceſſary circumſtances. A Slave thus qualified became a Citizen of *Rome*, and was honoured with a name more than belonged to any of his Forefathers, which *Perſius* has repeated with a great deal of humour.

——Heu ſteriles veri, quibus una Quiritem
Vertigo facit! hic Dama eſt, non treſſis agaſo,
Vappa, et lippus, et in tenui farragine mendax.
Verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit
Marcus Dama. Papæ! Marco ſpondente, recuſas
Credere tu nummos? Marco ſub Judice palles?
Marcus dixit, ita eſt: aſſigna, Marce, tabellas.
Hæc mera libertas: hanc nobis pilea donant.
Perſ. Sat. 5.

That falſe Enfranchiſement with eaſe is found:
Slaves are made Citizens by turning round.
How! replies one, can any be more free?
Here's *Dama*, once a Groom of low degree,
Not worth a farthing, and a Sot beſide;
So true a Rogue, for lying's ſake he ly'd:
But, with a Turn, a Freeman he became;
Now *Marcus Dama* is his Worſhip's name.
Good Gods! who wou'd refuſe to lend a ſum,
If wealthy *Marcus* ſurety would become!
Marcus is made a Judge, and for a proof
Of certain truth, *he ſaid it*, is enough.
A Will is to be prov'd; put in your claim;
'Tis clear, if *Marcus* has ſubſcrib'd his name.

This is true liberty, as I believe;
What farther can we from our Caps receive,
Than as we pleaſe without controul to live?
Mr. *Dryden.*

Since you have given us the ceremony of the Cap, ſays *Eugenius*, I'll give you that of the Wand, out of *Claudian.*

Te faſtos ineunte quater, ſollennia ludit
Omina libertas. deductum Vindice morem
Lex celebrat, famuluſque jugo laxatas herili
Ducitur, et grato remeat ſecurior ictu.
Triſtis conditio pulſata fronte recedit:
In civem rubuere genæ, tergoque removit
Verbera promiſſi felix injuria voti.
Claud. de 4. Conſ. Hon.

The *Grato ictu* and the *felix injuria*, ſays *Cynthio*, would have told us the name of the Author, though you had ſaid nothing of him. There is none of all the Poets that delights ſo much in theſe pretty kinds of contradictions as *Claudian.* He loves to ſet his Epithet at variance with its ſubſtantive, and to ſurprize his Reader with a ſeeming abſurdity. If this Poet were well examined, one would find that ſome of his greateſt beauties as well as faults ariſe from the frequent uſe of this particular figure.

I queſtion not, ſays *Philander*, but you are tired by this time with the company of ſo myſterious a ſort of Ladies as thoſe we have had before us. We will now, for our diverſion, entertain our ſelves with a ſett of Riddles, and ſee if we can find a key to them among the ancient Poets.

Second Series. FIG. 1.

The firſt of them, ſays *Cynthio*, is a Ship under ſail, I ſuppoſe it has at leaſt a metaphor or moral precept for its cargo. This, ſays *Philander*, is an emblem of Happineſs, as you may ſee by the inſcription it carries in its ſails. We find the ſame Device to expreſs the ſame thought in ſeveral of the Poets: as in *Horace*, when he ſpeaks of the moderation to be uſed in a flowing fortune, and in *Ovid* when he reflects on his paſt happineſs.

Rebus anguſtis animoſus atque
Fortis appare: ſapienter idem
Contrahes vento nimiùm ſecundo
Turgida vela. Hor. Od. 10. Lib. 2.

When *Fortune* ſends a ſtormy wind,
Then ſhew a brave and preſent mind;
And when with too indulgent gales
She ſwells too much, then furl thy ſails.
Mr. *Creech.*

Nominis et famæ quondam fulgore trahebar,
Dum tulit antennas aura ſecunda meas.
Ov. de Triſ. Lib. 5. El. 12.

En ego, non paucis quondam munitus amicis,
Dum flavit velis aura ſecunda meis.
Id. Epiſt. ex Ponto 3. Lib. 2.

I liv'd the darling Theme of ev'ry tongue,
The golden Idol of th' adoring throng;
Guarded with friends, while *Fortune*'s balmy gales
Wanton'd auſpicious in my ſwelling ſails.

You ſee the metaphor is the ſame in the Verſes as in the Medal, with this diſtinction only, that the one is in words and the other in figures. The Idea is alike in both, though the manner of repreſenting it is different. If you would ſee the whole Ship made uſe of in the ſame ſenſe by an old Poet, as it is here on the Medal, you may find it in a pretty Allegory of *Seneca.*

Fata ſi liceat mihi
Fingere arbitrio meo,
Temperem zephyro levi
Vela, nè preſſæ gravi
Spiritu antennæ tremant.
Lenis et modicè fluens
Aura, nec vergens latus,
Ducat intrepidam ratem.
Sen. OEdip. Chor. Act. 4.

My fortune might I form at will,
My canvas Zephyrs ſoft ſhould fill
With gentle breath, leſt ruder gales
Crack the main-yard, or burſt the ſails.
By winds that temperately blow
The Barque ſhould paſs ſecure and ſlow,
Nor ſcar me leaning on her ſide:
But ſmoothly cleave th' unruffled tide.

After having conſidered the Ship as a Metaphor, we may now look on it as a Reality, and obſerve in it the Make of the old *Roman* veſſels, as they are deſcribed among the Poets. It is carried on by oars and ſails at the ſame time.

[*Sive opus eſt velis minimam bene currit ad auram,*
Sive opus eſt remo remige carpit iter.
Ov. de. Triſ. Li. 1. El. 10.

The Poop of it has the bend that *Ovid* and *Virgil* mention.

——*puppique recurvæ.* Ibid. Li. 1. El. 3.

————*littora curvæ*
Prætexunt puppes——— Virg.

You ſee the deſcription of the Pilot, and the place he ſits on, in the following quotations.

Ipſe gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ.
Virg. Æn. Li. 5.

Ipſius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus
In puppim ferit. excutitur, pronuſque magiſter
Volvitur in caput.—— Id. Æn. Li. 1.

Orontes' bark, that bore the *Lycian* crew,
(A horrid ſight) ev'n in the Hero's view,
From ſtem to ſtern, by waves was overborn;
The trembling Pilot from his rudder torn,
Was headlong hurl'd;—— Mr. *Dryden.*

—— *Segnemque Menœten,*
Oblitus decoriſque ſui ſociûmque ſalutis,
In mare præcipitem puppi deturbat ab altâ:
Ipſe gubernaclo rector ſubit. Id. Æn. Li. 5.

Mindleſs of others lives, (ſo high was grown
His riſing rage,) and careleſs of his own:
The trembling dotard to the deck he drew,
And hoiſted up, and overboard he threw;
This done, he ſeiz'd the helm——
Mr. *Dryden.*

I have mentioned theſe two laſt paſſages of *Virgil*, becauſe I think we cannot have ſo right an idea of the Pilot's misfortune in each of them, without obſerving the ſituation of his poſt, as appears in ancient Coins. The figure you ſee on the other end of the ſhip is a *Triton*, a man in his upper parts, and a fiſh below with a trumpet in his mouth. *Virgil* deſcribes him in the ſame manner on one of *Æneas*'s ſhips. It was probably a common figure on their ancient veſſels, for we meet with it too in *Silius Italicus*.

Hunc vehit immanis Triton, et cærula conchâ
Exterrens freta: cui laterum tenus hiſpida nanti
Frons hominem præfert, in priſtim deſinit alvus;
Spumea ſemifero ſub pectore murmurat unda.
Vir. Æn. Li. 10.

The *Triton* bears him, he, whoſe trumpet's ſound
Old Ocean's waves from ſhore to ſhore rebound.
A hairy man above the waſte he ſhews,
A Porpoiſe tail down from his belly grows,
The billows murmur, which his breaſt oppoſe.
Ld. *Lauderdale*.

Ducitur et Libyæ puppis ſignata figuram
Et Triton captivus. ——— Sil. It. Li. 14.

I am apt to think, ſays *Eugenius*, from certain paſſages of the Poets, that ſeveral ſhips made choice of ſome God or other for their guardians, as among the *Roman* Catholics every veſſel is recommended to the patronage of ſome particular Saint. To give you an inſtance of two or three.

Eſt mihi ſitque precor flavæ tutela Minervæ
Navis ——— Ov. de Triſ. Li. 1. El. 10.

Numen erat celſæ puppis vicina Dione.
Sil. It. Li. 14.

Hammon numen erat Libycæ gentile carinæ,
Cornigeráque ſedens ſpectabat cærula fronte.
Ibid.

The poop great *Ammon Libya*'s god diſplay'd,
Whoſe horned front the nether flood ſurvey'd.

The figure of the Deity was very large, as I have ſeen it on other Medals as well as this you have ſhown us, and ſtood on one end of the veſſel that it patroniſed. This may give us an image of a very beautiful circumſtance that we meet with in a couple of wrecks deſcribed by *Silius Italicus*, and *Perſius*.

——— Subito cum pondere victus
Inſiliente mari ſubmergitur alveus undis.
Scuta virûm criſtæque, et inerti ſpicula ferro
Tutelæque Deûm fluitant.—— Sil. It. Li. 14.

Sunk by a weight ſo dreadful down ſhe goes,
And o'er her head the broken billows cloſe,
Bright ſhields and creſts float round the whirling floods.
And uſeleſs ſpears confus'd with tutelary Gods.

———trabe ruptâ Bruttia ſaxa
Prendit amicus inops, remque omnem ſurdaque vota
Condidit: Iönio jacet ipſe in littore, et unà
Ingentes de puppe Dei, jamque obvia mergis
Coſta ratis laceræ. ——— Perſ. Sat. 6.

My friend is ſhipwreck'd on the *Brutian* ſtrand,
His riches in th' *Ionian* main are loſt;
And he himſelf ſtands ſhiv'ring on the coaſt :
Where, deſtitute of help, forlorn and bare,
He wearies the deaf Gods with fruitleſs pray'r.
Their images, the relicks of the wrack,
Torn from their naked poop, are tided back
By the wild waves; and rudely thrown aſhore,
Lie impotent, nor can themſelves reſtore.
The veſſel ſticks, and ſhews her open'd ſide,
And on her ſhatter'd maſt the Mews in triumph ride.
Mr. *Dryden.*

You will think perhaps I carry my conjectures too far, if I tell you that I fancy they are theſe kind of Gods that *Horace* mentions in his Allegorical veſſel which was ſo broken and ſhattered to pieces; for I am apt to think that *integra* relates to the Gods as well as the *lintea.*

———*non tibi ſunt integra lintea,*
Non Dii, quos iterum preſſa voces malo.
Hor. Od. 14. Lib. 1.

Thy ſtern is gone, thy Gods are loſt,
And thou haſt none to hear thy cry,
When thou on dang'rous ſhelves art toſt,
When billows rage, and winds are high.
Mr. *Creech.*

Fig. 2. Since we are engaged ſo far in the *Roman* ſhipping, ſays *Philander*, I'll here ſhow you a Medal that has on its reverſe a *Roſtrum* with three teeth to it: whence *Silius*'s *trifidum roſtrum* and *Virgil*'s *roſtriſque tridentibus*, which in ſome editions is *ſtridentibus*,

the Editor chuſing rather to make a falſe quantity than to inſert a word that he did not know the meaning of. *Flaccus* gives us a *Roſtrum* of the ſame make.

> ——*volat immiſſis cava pinus habenis*
> *Infinditque ſalum, et ſpumas vomit ære tridenti.*
> Val. Flac. Argon. Li. 1.

A Ship-carpenter of old *Rome*, ſays *Cynthio*, could not have talked more judiciouſly. I am afraid, if we let you alone, you will find out every plank and rope about the veſſel among the *Latin* Poets. Let us now, if you pleaſe, go to the next Medal.

FIG. 3.

The next, ſays *Philander*, is a pair of Scales, which we meet with on ſeveral old Coins. They are commonly interpreted as an emblem of the Emperor's Juſtice. But why may not we ſuppoſe that they allude ſometimes to the Balance in the Heavens, which was the reigning conſtellation of *Rome* and *Italy*? Whether it be ſo or no, they are capable methinks of receiving a nobler interpretation than what is commonly put on them, if we ſuppoſe the thought of the reverſe to be the ſame with that in *Manilius*.

> *Heſperiam ſua Libra tenet, quâ condita Roma*
> *Et propriis frænat pendentem nutibus orbem,*
> *Orbis et Imperium retinet, diſcrimina rerum*
> *Lancibus, et poſitas gentes tollitque premitque:*
> *Qua genitus cum fratre Remus hanc condidit urbem.*
> Manil. Lib. 4.

> The Scales rule *Italy*, where *Rome* commands,
> And ſpreads its empire wide to foreign lands:

They hang upon her nod, their fates are weigh'd
By her, and laws are ſent to be obey'd:
And as her pow'rful favour turns the poize,
How low ſome nations ſink and others riſe!
Thus guide the Scales, and then to fix our
doom,
They gave us * *Cæſar*, founder of our *Rome*.
Mr. *Creech*.

FIG. 4. The Thunderbolt is a reverſe of *Auguſtus*. We ſee it uſed by the greateſt Poet of the ſame age to expreſs a terrible and irreſiſtable force in battle, which is probably the meaning of it on this Medal, for in another place the ſame Poet applys the ſame metaphor to *Auguſtus*'s perſon.

————————*duo Fulmina belli*
Scipiadas—————— Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

————————Who can declare
The *Scipio's* worth, thoſe Thunderbolts of war?
Mr. *Dryden*.

————————*dum Cæſar ad altum*
Fulminat Euphratem bello—— Id. Georg. Lib. 4.

While mighty *Cæſar* thund'ring from afar,
Seeks on *Euphrates*' banks the ſpoils of war.
Mr. *Dryden*.

I have ſometimes wondered, ſays *Eugenius*, why the *Latin* Poets ſo frequently give the Epithets of *trifidum* and *triſulcum* to the Thunderbolt. I am now perſuaded they took it from the ſculptors and painters that lived before them, and had generally given it three forks as in the preſent figure. *Virgil* inſiſts on the number three in its deſcription, and ſeems to hint at the wings we ſee on it. He has worked up ſuch a noiſe and terror in the compoſition of his Thunderbolt as cannot be expreſſed by a pencil or graving-tool.

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* So *Voſſius* reads it.

Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquoſæ
Addiderant, rutili tres ignis, et Alitis Auſtri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos ſonitumque metumque
Miſcebant operi, flammiſque ſequacibus iras.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

Three rays of writhen rain, of fire three more,
Of winged ſouthern winds, and cloudy ſtore
As many parts, the dreadful mixture frame,
And fears are added, and avenging flame.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Our next reverſe is an Oaken Garland, which we find on abundance of Imperial Coins. I ſhall not here multiply quotations to ſhow that the garland of Oak was the reward of ſuch as had ſaved the life of a citizen, but will give you a paſſage out of *Claudian*, where the compliment to *Stilico* is the ſame that we have here on the Medal. I queſtion not but the old Coins gave the thought to the Poet. FIG. 5.

Mos erat in veterum caſtris, ut tempora quercu
Velaret, validis qui fuſo viribus hoſte
Caſurum potuit morti ſubducere civem.
At tibi quæ poterit pro tantis civica reddi
Mœnibus? aut quantæ penſabunt facta coronæ?
Clau. de Lau. Stil. Lib. 3.

Of old, when in the war's tumultuous ſtrife
A *Roman* ſav'd a brother *Roman*'s life,
And foil'd the threatning foe, our Sires decreed
An Oaken Garland for the victor's meed.
Thou, who haſt ſav'd whole crowds, whole towns ſet free,
What groves, what woods, ſhall furniſh crowns for thee?

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the Emperor had actually covered a *Roman* in battle. It is enough that he had driven out a tyrant, gained a victory, or reſtored Juſtice. For in any of theſe or the like caſes he may very well be ſaid to have ſaved the life of a citizen, and by conſequence entitled to the reward of it. Accordingly we find *Virgil* diſtributing his Oaken garlands to thoſe that had enlarged or ſtrength'ned the dominions of *Rome*; as we may learn from *Statius* that the ſtatue of *Curtius*, who had ſacrificed himſelf for the good of the people, had the head ſurrounded with the ſame kind of ornament.

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.
Hi tibi Nomentum, et Gabios, urbemque Fidenam,
Hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

But they, who crown'd with Oaken wreaths appear,
Shall *Gabian* walls and ſtrong *Fidena* rear:
Nomentum, *Bola*, with *Pometia*, found;
And raiſe *Colatian* tow'rs on rocky ground.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Ipſe loci cuſtos, cujus ſacrata vorago,
Famoſuſque lacus nomen memorabile ſervat,
Innumeros æris ſonitus, et verbere crudo
Ut ſenſit mugire forum, movet horrida ſancto
Ora ſitu, meritâque caput venerabile quercu.
Statius Sylv. Lib. 1.

The Guardian of that Lake, which boaſts to claim
A ſure memorial from the *Curtian* name;
Rous'd by th' artificers, whoſe mingled ſound
From the loud *Forum* pierc'd the ſhades profound,
The hoary viſion roſe confeſs'd in view,
And ſhook the Civic wreath that bound his brow.

The two horns that you ſee on the next Medal are emblems of *Plenty*. Fig. 8.

———*apparetque beata pleno*
Copia Cornu. Hor. Car. Sæc.

Your Medalliſts tell us that two horns on a Coin ſignify an extraordinary Plenty. But I ſee no foundation for this conjecture. Why ſhould they not as well have ſtamped two Thunder-bolts, two *Caduceus's*, or two Ships, to repreſent an extraordinary force, a laſting peace, or an unbounded happineſs. I rather think that the double *Cornu-copia* relates to the double tradition of its original. Some repreſenting it as the horn of *Achelous* broken off by *Hercules*, and others as the horn of the Goat that gave ſuck to *Jupiter*.

———*rigidum fera dextera cornu*
Dum tenet, infregit; truncâque a fronte revellit.

Naiades hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum,
Sacrârunt ; diveſque meo bona Copia cornu eſt.
Dixerat : at Nymphe ritu ſuccincta Dianæ
Una miniſtrarum, fuſis utrinque capillis,
Inceſſit, totumque tulit prædivite cornu
Autumnum, et menſas felicia poma ſecundas.
De Acheloi Cornu. Ov. Met. Lib. 9.

Nor yet his fury cool'd ; 'twixt rage and ſcorn,
From my maim'd front he bore the ſtubborn horn:
This, heap'd with flowers and fruits, the *Naiads* bear,
Sacred to Plenty and the bounteous year.
He ſpoke; when lo a beauteous Nymph appears,
Girt like *Diana*'s train, with flowing hairs ;
The horn ſhe brings, in which all Autumn's ſtor'd ;
And ruddy apples for the ſecond board. Mr. *Gay*.

Lac dabat illa Deo : ſed fregit in arbore cornu :
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat.
Suſtulit hoc Nymphe ; cinctumque recentibus herbis,
Et plenum pomis ad Jovis ora tulit.
Ille, ubi res cœli tenuit, ſolioque paterno
Sedit, et invicto nil Jove majus erat,
Sidera nutricem, nutricis fertile cornu
Fecit ; quod dominæ nunc quoque nomen habet.
De Cornu Amaltheæ. Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 5.

The God ſhe ſuckled of old *Rhea* born ;
And in the pious office broke her horn,
As playful in a rifted Oak ſhe toſt
Her heedleſs head, and half its honours loſt.
Fair *Amalthæa* took it off the ground,
With apples fill'd it and with garlands bound,
Which

Which to the ſmiling infant ſhe convey'd.
He, when the ſceptre of the Gods he ſway'd,
When bold he ſeiz'd his father's vacant throne,
And reign'd the tyrant of the skies alone,
Bid his rough nurſe the ſtarry Heavens adorn,
And grateful in the Zodiac fix'd her Horn.

Betwixt the double *Cornu-copia* you ſee *Mercury*'s rod.

Cyllenes cœlique decus, facunde miniſter,
Aurea cui torto virga dracone viret.
Mart. Lib. 7. Epig. 74.

Deſcend, *Cyllene*'s tutelary God,
With ſerpents twining round thy golden rod.

It ſtands on old Coins as an emblem of Peace, by reaſon of its ſtupifying quality that has gained it the title of *Virga ſomnifera.* It has wings, for another quality that *Virgil* mentions in his deſcription of it.

——*hac fretus ventos et nubila tranat:* Virg.

Thus arm'd, the God begins his airy race,
And drives the racking clouds along the liquid
ſpace. Mr. *Dryden.*

The two heads over the two *Cornu-copiæ* are of the Emperor's children, who are ſometimes called among the Poets the pledges of Peace, as they took away the occaſions of war in cutting off all diſputes to the ſucceſſion.

—— —— *tu mihi primum*
Tot natorum memoranda parens——

Utero toties enixâ gravi
Pignora pacis. Sen. Octav. Act. 5.

Thee firſt kind author of my joys,
Thou ſource of many ſmiling boys,
Nobly contented to beſtow
A pledge of peace in every throe.

This Medal therefore compliments the Emperor on his two children, whom it repreſents as public bleſſings that promiſe Peace and Plenty to the Empire.

FIG. 7. The two hands that joyn one another are Emblems of *Fidelity.*

Inde Fides dextræque datæ— Ov. Met. L. 14.

Sociemus animos, pignus hoc fidei cape,
Continge dextram —— Sen. Herc. Fur. Act. 2.

——— *en dextra fideſque*
Quem ſecum patrios aiunt portare penates!
Virg. Æn. Lib. 4.

See now the promis'd faith, the vaunted name,
The pious man, who ruſhing thro' the flame,
Preſerv'd his Gods —— Mr. *Dryden.*

By the Inſcription we may ſee that they repreſent in this place the Fidelity or Loyalty of the public towards their Emperor. The *Caduceus* riſing between the hands ſignifies the Peace that ariſes from ſuch an union with their Prince, as the ſpike of Corn on each ſide ſhadows out the Plenty that is the fruit of ſuch a peace.

Pax Cererem nutrit, pacis alumna Ceres.
Ov. de Faſt. Lib. 1.

The giving of a hand, in the reverſe of *Claudius*, is a token of good will. For when, after the death of his nephew *Caligula*, *Claudius* was in no ſmall apprehenſion for his own life, he was, contrary to his expectation, well received among the *Prætorian* guards, and afterwards declared their Emperor. His reception is here recorded on a Medal, in which one of the Enſigns preſents him his hand, in the ſame ſenſe as *Anchiſes* gives it in the following verſes. FIG. 8.

Ipſe pater dextram Anchiſes haud multa moratus
Dat juveni, atque animum præſenti munere firmat. Virg. Æn. Lib. 3.

The old weather-beaten ſoldier that carries in his hand the *Roman* Eagle, is the ſame kind of officer that you meet with in *Juvenal*'s fourteenth Satire.

Dirue Maurorum attegias, caſtella Brigantum,
Ut locupletem Aquilam tibi ſexageſimus annus
Afferat ———— Juv. Sat. 14.

I remember in one of the Poets the *Signifer* is deſcribed with a Lion's skin over his head and ſhoulders, like this we ſee in the Medal, but at preſent I cannot recollect the paſſage. *Virgil* has given us a noble deſcription of a warrior making his appearance under a Lion's skin.

——*tegmen torquens immane Leonis*
Terribili impexum ſetâ, cum dentibus albis

Indutus capiti, ſic regia tecta ſubibat
Horridus, Herculeoque humeros indutus amictu.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 7.

Like *Hercules* himſelf his ſon appears,
In ſalvage pomp: a Lion's hide he wears;
About his ſhoulders hangs the ſhaggy skin,
The teeth, and gaping jaws ſeverely grin.
Thus like the God his father, homely dreſt,
He ſtrides into the hall, a horrid gueſt!
Mr. *Dryden.*

Since you have mentioned the dreſs of your Standard-bearer, ſays *Cynthio*, I cannot forbear remarking that of *Claudius*, which was the uſual *Roman* habit. One may ſee in this Medal, as well as in any antique Statues, that the old *Romans* had their necks and arms bare, and as much expoſed to view as our hands and faces are at preſent. Before I had made this remark, I have ſometimes wondered to ſee the *Roman* Poets, in their deſcriptions of a beautiful man, ſo often mentioning the Turn of his Neck and Arms, that in our modern dreſſes lie out of ſight, and are covered under part of the cloathing. Not to trouble you with many quotations, *Horace* ſpeaks of both theſe parts of the body in the beginning of an Ode, that in my opinion may be reckoned among the fineſt of his book, for the naturalneſs of the thought, and the beauty of the expreſſion.

Dum tu Lydia Telephi
Cervicem roſeam, et cerea Telephi
Laudas brachia, væ meum
Fervens difficili bile tumet jecur.

When *Telephus* his youthful charms,
His roſy neck, and winding arms,
With endleſs rapture you recite,
And in that pleaſing name delight;
My heart, inflam'd by jealous heats,
With numberleſs reſentments beats;
From my pale cheek the colour flies,
And all the Man within me dies.

It was probably this particular in the *Roman* habit that gave *Virgil* the thought in the following verſe, where *Remulus*, among other reproaches that he makes the *Trojans* for their ſoftneſs and effeminacy, upbraids them with the Make of their *Tunica's* that had ſleeves to them, and did not leave the arms naked and expoſed to the weather like that of the *Romans*.

Et tunicæ manicas, et habent ridimicula mitræ.

Virgil lets us know in another place, that the *Italians* preſerved their old language and habits, notwithſtanding the *Trojans* became their Maſters, and that the *Trojans* themſelves quitted the dreſs of their own country for that of *Italy*. This he tells us was the effect of a prayer that *Juno* made to *Jupiter*.

Illud te, nullâ fati quod lege tenetur,
Pro Latio obteſtor, pro majeſtate tuorum:
Cum jam connubiis pacem felicibus (eſto;)
Component, cum jam leges et fœdera jungent;
Ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos,
Neu Troas fieri jubeas, Teucroſque vocari;
Aut vocem mutare viros, aut vertere veſtes.

Sit Latium, ſint Albani per ſæcula reges:
Sit Romana potens Italâ virtute propago:
Occidit, occideritque ſinas cum nomine Troja.
Æn. lib. 12.

This let me beg (and this no Fates withſtand)
Both for my ſelf and for your father's land,
That when the nuptial bed ſhall bind the peace,
(Which I, ſince you ordain, conſent to bleſs)
The laws of either nation be the ſame;
But let the *Latins* ſtill retain their name:
Speak the ſame language which they ſpoke before,
Wear the ſame habits, which their Grandſires wore.
Call them not *Trojans:* periſh the renown
And name of *Troy*, with that deteſted town.
Latium be *Latium* ſtill: let *Alba* reign,
And *Rome*'s immortal Majeſty remain.
Mr. *Dryden.*

By the way, I have often admired at *Virgil* for repreſenting his *Juno* with ſuch an impotent kind of revenge as what is the ſubject of this ſpeech. You may be ſure, ſays *Eugenius*, that *Virgil* knew very well this was a trifling kind of requeſt for the Queen of the Gods to make, as we may find by *Jupiter*'s way of accepting it.

Olli ſubridens hominum rerumque repertor:
Et germana Jovis, Saturnique altera proles:
Irarum tantos volvis ſub pectore fluctus?
Verum age, et inceptum fruſtra ſubmitte furorem.
Do, quod vis; et me victuſque volenſque remitto.
Sermonem Auſonii patrium moreſque tenebunt.
Utque eſt, nomen erit: commixti corpore tantùm
Subſident

Subſident Teucri: morem ritusque ſacrorum
Adjiciam, faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos, &c.
Æn. Lib. 12.

Then thus the Founder of mankind replies.
(Unruffled was his front, ſerene his eyes,)
Can *Saturn*'s iſſue, and Heav'n's other Heir,
Such endleſs anger in her boſom bear?
Be Miſtreſs, and your full deſires obtain;
But quench the choler you foment in vain.
From ancient blood th' *Auſonian* people ſprung,
Shall keep their name, their habit, and their tongue.
The *Trojans* to their cuſtoms ſhall be ty'd,
I will my ſelf their common rites provide;
The natives ſhall command, the foreigners ſubſide:
And ſhall be *Latium*; *Troy* without a name:
And her loſt ſons forget from whence they came.
Mr. *Dryden.*

I am apt to think *Virgil* had a further view in this requeſt of *Juno* than what his Commentators have diſcovered in it. He knew very well that his *Æneid* was founded on a very doubtful ſtory, and that *Æneas*'s coming into *Italy* was not univerſally received among the *Romans* themſelves. He knew too that a main objection to this ſtory was the great difference of Cuſtoms, Language and Habits among the *Romans* and *Trojans*. To obviate therefore ſo ſtrong an objection, he makes this difference to ariſe from the forecaſt and prædetermination of the Gods themſelves. But pray what is the name of the Lady in the next Medal? Methinks ſhe is very particular in her Quoiffure.

FIG. 9. It is the emblem of Fruitfulneſs, ſays *Philander*, and was deſigned as a compliment to *Julia* the wife of *Septimius Severus*, who had the ſame number of children as you ſee on this Coin. Her head is crowned with towers in alluſion to *Cybele* the mother of the Gods, and for the ſame reaſon that *Virgil* compares the city of *Rome* to her.

Felix prole virûm, qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
Læta Deûm partu —— Virg. Æn. Lib. 6.

High as the mother of the Gods in place,
And proud, like her, of an immortal race.
Then when in pomp ſhe makes a *Phrygian* round,
With golden turrets on her temples crown'd.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The Vine iſſuing out of the Urn ſpeaks the ſame ſenſe as that in the Pſalmiſt. *Thy wife ſhall be as the fruitful vine on the walls of thy houſe.* The four Stars overhead, and the ſame number on the Globe, repreſent the four children. There is a Medalion of *Romulus* and *Remus* ſucking the wolf, with a Star over each of their heads, as we find the *Latin* Poets ſpeaking of the children of Princes under the ſame metaphor.

Utque tui faciunt ſidus juvenile nepotes,
Per tua perque ſui facta parentis eant.
Ov. de. Triſ. Lib. 2. El. 1.

——*Tu quoque extinctus jaces,*
Deflende nobis ſemper, infelix puer,

Modo ſidus orbis, columen auguſtæ domûs,
Britannice.———— Sen. Octav. Act. 1.

Thou too dear youth, to aſhes turn'd,
Britannicus, for ever mourn'd!
Thou Star that wont this Orb to grace!
Thou pillar of the *Julian* race!

———*Maneas hominum contentus habenis,*
Undarum terræque potens, et ſidera dones.
Stat. Theb. Lib. 1.

—Stay, great *Cæſar*, and vouchſafe to reign
O'er the wide earth, and o'er the watry main:
Reſign to *Jove* his Empire of the skies,
And people Heav'n with *Roman* Deities.
Mr. *Pope*.

I need not mention *Homer*'s comparing *Aſtyanax* to the Morning-ſtar, nor *Virgil*'s imitation of him in his deſcription of *Aſcanius*.

The next Medal was ſtampt on the marriage of *Nero* and *Octavia*; you ſee the Sun over the head of *Nero*, and the Moon over that of *Octavia*. They face one another according to the ſituation of theſe two Planets in the Heavens. FIG. 10.

———— *Phœbeis obvia flammis*
Demet nocti Luna timores. Sen. Thyeſt. Act. 4.

And to ſhew that *Octavia* derived her whole luſtre from the friendly aſpect of her husband.

Sicut Luna ſuo tunc tantum deficit orbe,
Quum Phœbum adverſis currentem non vidit aſtris. Manil. Lib. 4.

Becauſe the Moon then only feels decay,
When oppoſite unto her brother's ray.
Mr. *Creech.*

But if we conſider the hiſtory of this Medal, we ſhall find more Fancy in it than the Medalliſts have yet diſcovered. *Nero* and *Octavia* were not only husband and wife, but brother and ſiſter, *Claudius* being the father of both. We have this relation between them marked out in the Tragedy of *Octavia*, where it ſpeaks of her marriage with *Nero*.

Fratris thalamos ſortita tenet
Maxima Juno: ſoror Auguſti
Sociata toris, cur à patriâ
Pellitur Aula? —— Sen. Oct. Act. 1.

To *Jove* his ſiſter conſort wed,
Uncenſur'd ſhares her brother's bed:
Shall *Cæſar*'s wife and ſiſter wait,
An Exile at her husband's gate?

Implebit aulam ſtirpe cæleſti tuam
Generata divo, Claudiæ gentis decus,
Sortita fratris, more Junonis, toros. Ibid. Act. 2.

Thy ſiſter, bright with ev'ry blooming grace,
Will mount thy bed t'inlarge the *Claudian* race:
And proudly teeming with fraternal love,
Shall reign a *Juno* with the *Roman Jove.*

They are therefore very prettily repreſented by the Sun and Moon, who as they are the moſt glorious parts of the univerſe, are in a poetical genealogy brother and ſiſter. *Virgil* gives us a ſight of them in the ſame poſition that they regard each other on this Medal.

Nec Fratris radiis obnoxia ſurgere Luna.
Virg. Georg. 1.

The flattery on the next Medal is in the ſame thought as that of *Lucretius*. FIG. 11.

Ipſe Epicurus obît decurſo lumine vitæ;
Qui genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, et omneis
Præſtinxit, ſtellas exortus uti ætherius Sol.
Lucret. Lib. 3.

Nay, *Epicurus*' race of life is run;
That man of wit, who other men outſhone;
As far as meaner ſtars the mid-day Sun.
Mr. *Creech.*

The Emperor appears as a Riſing Sun, and holds a Globe in his hand to figure out the Earth that is enlightned and actuated by his beauty.

Sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia luſtras.
Virg.

———ubi primos craſtinus ortus
Extulerit Titan, radiiſque retexerit orbem. Id.

When next the Sun his riſing light diſplays,
And gilds the world below with purple rays.
Mr. *Dryden.*

On his head you ſee the rays that ſeem to grow out of it. *Claudian* in the deſcription of his infant *Titan* deſcants on this glory about his head, but has run his deſcription into moſt wretched fuſtian. *Invalidum*

Invalidum dextro portat Titana lacerto,
Nondum luce gravem, nec pubeſcentibus altè
Criſtatum radiis; primo clementior ævo
Fingitur, et tenerum vagitu deſpuit ignem.
Claud. de rapt. Prof. Lib. 2.

An infant *Titan* held ſhe in her arms;
Yet ſufferably bright, the eye might bear
The ungrown glories of his beamy hair.
Mild was the babe, and from his cries there came
A gentle breathing and a harmleſs flame.

FIG. 12. The Sun riſes on a Medal of *Commodus*, as *Ovid* deſcribes him in the ſtory of *Phaeton*

Ardua prima via eſt, et quà vix manè recentes
Enituntur equi —— Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

You have here too the four horſes breaking through the clouds in their morning paſſage.

——*Pyroëis, et Eöus, et Æthon,*
Solis equi, quartuſque Phlegon —— Ibid.

Corripuere viam, pedibuſque per aëra motis
Obſtantes ſcindunt nebulas —— Ibid.

The woman underneath repreſents the Earth, as *Ovid* has drawn her ſitting in the ſame figure.

Suſtulit omniferos collo tenus arida vultus;
Oppoſuitque manum fronti, magnoque tremore
Omnia concutiens paulum ſubſedit. Ibid.

The earth at length———
Uplifted to the heav'ns her blaſted head,
And clapt her hand upon her brows, and ſaid,
(But firſt, impatient of the ſultry heat,
Sunk deeper down, and ſought a cooler ſeat)

The *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand is a type of her fruitfulneſs, as in the ſpeech ſhe makes to *Jupiter*.

Hoſne mihi fructus, hunc fertilitatis honorem,
Officiique refers? quod adunci vulnera aratri
Raſtrorumque fero, totoque exerceor anno?
Quod pecori frondes, alimentaque mitia fruges
Humano generi, vobis quoque thura miniſtro?
Ibid.

And does the plow for this my body tear?
This the reward for all the fruits I bear,
Tortur'd with rakes, and harraſs'd all the year?
That herbs for cattle daily I renew,
And food for man; and frankincenſe for you?

So much for the deſigning part of the Medal; as for the thought of it, the Antiquaries are divided upon it. For my part I cannot doubt but it was made as a compliment to *Commodus* on his skill in the chariot-race. It is ſuppoſed that the ſame occaſion furniſhed *Lucan* with the ſame thought in his addreſs to *Nero*.

Seu te flammigeros Phœbi conſcendere currus,
Telluremque, nihil mutato ſole, timentem
Igne vago luſtrare juvet ——
Luc. Lib. 1. ad Neronem.

Or if thou chuſe the empire of the day,
And make the Sun's unwilling ſteeds obey;
Auſpicious if thou drive the flaming team,
While earth rejoices in thy gentler beam——
Mr. *Rowe.*

This is ſo natural an alluſion, that we find the courſe of the Sun deſcribed in the Poets by metaphors borrowed from the *Circus.*

Quum ſuſpenſus eat Phœbus, currumque reflectat
Huc illuc agiles, et ſervet in æthere metas.
Manil. Lib. 1.

——*Heſperio poſitas in littore metas.*
Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

Et Sol ex æquo metâ diſtabat utrâque. Idem.

However it be, we are ſure in general it is a comparing of *Commodus* to the Sun, which is a ſimile of as long ſtanding as poetry, I had almoſt ſaid, as the Sun it ſelf.

I believe, ſays *Cynthio*, there is ſcarce a great man he ever ſhone upon that has not been compared to him. I look on ſimiles as a part of his productions. I do not know whether he raiſes fruits or flowers in greater number. *Horace* has turn'd this compariſon into ridicule ſeventeen hundred years ago.

——*laudat Brutum, laudatque cohortem,*
Solem Aſiæ Brutum appellat— Hor. Sat. 7. Lib. 1.

He praiſeth *Brutus* much and all his train;
He calls him *Aſia*'s Sun—— Mr. *Creech.*

You have now ſhown us perſons under the diſguiſe of Stars, Moons and Suns. I ſuppoſe we have at laſt done with the cœleſtial bodies.

The next figure you ſee, ſays *Philander*, had once a place in the Heavens, if you will believe eccleſiaſtical ſtory. It is the ſign that is ſaid to have appeared to *Conſtantine* before the battle with *Maxentius*. We are told by a Chriſtian Poet, that he caus'd it to be wrought on the military Enſign that the *Romans* call their *Labarum*. And it is on this Enſign that we find it in the preſent Medal.

FIG. 13.

Chriſtus purpureum gemmanti, textus in auro
Signabat Labarum.——
Prudent. contra Symm. Lib. 1.

A Chriſt was on th'Imperial ſtandard born,
That Gold embroiders, and that Gemms adorn.

By the word *Chriſtus* he means without doubt the preſent figure, which is compoſed out of the two initial letters of the name.

He bore the ſame ſign in his ſtandards, as you may ſee in the following Medal and verſes.

FIG. 14.

Agnoſcas, Regina, libens mea ſigna neceſſe eſt:
In quibus Effigies Crucis aut gemmata refulget,
Aut longis ſolido ex auro præfertur in haſtis.
Conſtantinus Romam alloquitur. Ibid.

My Enſign let the Queen of nations praiſe,
That rich in gemms the Chriſtian Croſs diſplays:

There rich in gemms; but on my quiv'ring ſpears
In ſolid gold the ſacred mark appears.

Vexillumque Crucis ſummus dominator adorat.
Id. in Apotheoſi.

See there the Croſs he wav'd on hoſtile ſhores,
The Emperor of all the world adores.

Fig. 15. But to return to our *Labarum*; if you have a mind to ſee it in a ſtate of Paganiſm you have it on a Coin of *Tiberius*. It ſtands between two other Enſigns, and is the mark of a *Roman* Colony where the Medal was ſtamped. By the way you muſt obſerve, that where-ever the *Romans* fixed their ſtandards they looked on that place as their country, and thought themſelves obliged to defend it with their lives. For this reaſon their ſtandards were always carryed before them when they went to ſettle themſelves in a Colony. This gives the meaning of a couple of verſes in *Silius Italicus*, that make a very far-fetcht compliment to *Fabius*.

Ocyus huc Aquilas ſervataque ſigna referte,
Hic patria eſt, murique urbis ſtant pectore in uno.
Sil. It. Li. 7.

Fig. 16. The following Medal was ſtamped on *Trajan*'s victory over the *Daci*, you ſee on it the figure of *Trajan* preſenting a little *Victory* to *Rome*. Between them lies the conquered province of *Dacia*. It may be worth while to obſerve the particularities in each figure. We ſee abundance of perſons on old Coins that hold a little *Victory* in one hand, like this of *Tra-*

jan, which is always the ſign of a Conqueſt. I have ſometimes fancied *Virgil* alludes to this cuſtom in a verſe that *Turnus* ſpeaks.

Non adeo has exoſa manus Victoria fugit.
Virg. Æn. Li. 11.

If you conſent, he ſhall not be refus'd,
Nor find a hand to Victory unus'd. [Mr. *Dryden.*

The Emperor's ſtanding in a Gown, and making a preſent of his *Dacian* Victory to the city of *Rome*, agrees very well with *Claudian*'s character of him.

———————*victura feretur*
Gloria Trajani; non tam quod, Tigride victo,
Noſtra triumphati fuerint provincia Parthi,
Alta quod invectus ſtratis capitolia Dacis:
Quam patriæ quod mitis erat———
Claud. de 4*to* Conſ. Honor.

Thy glory, *Trajan*, ſhall for-ever live:
Not that thy arms the *Tigris* mourn'd, o'ercome,
And tributary *Parthia* bow'd to *Rome*,
Not that the Capitol receiv'd thy train
With ſhouts of triumph for the *Daci* ſlain:
But for thy mildneſs to thy country ſhown.

The city of *Rome* carries the Wand in her hand that is the ſymbol of her Divinity.

Delubrum Romæ (colitur nam ſanguine et ipſa
More Deæ) ——— Prudent. cont. Sym. L. 1.

For *Rome*, a Goddeſs too, can boaſt her ſhrine,
With victims ſtain'd, and ſought with rites divine.

As the Globe under her feet betokens her dominion over all the nations of the earth.

Terrarum Dea, Gentiumque Roma;
Cui par eſt nihil, et nihil ſecundum.
Mart. Li. 12. Epig. 8.

O *Rome*, thou Goddeſs of the earth!
To whom no rival e'er had birth;
Nor ſecond e'er ſhall riſe.

The heap of arms ſhe ſits on ſignifies the Peace that the Emperor had procured her. On old Coins we often ſee an Emperor, a *Victory*, the city of *Rome*, or a ſlave, ſitting on a heap of arms, which always marks out the Peace that aroſe from ſuch an action as gave occaſion to the Medal. I think we cannot doubt but *Virgil* copied out this circumſtance from the ancient Sculptors, in that inimitable deſcription he has given us of *Military Fury* ſhut up in the Temple of *Janus* and loaden with chains.

Claudentur belli portæ: Furor impius intus
Sæva ſedens ſuper arma, et centum vinctus ahenis
Poſt tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.
Virg. Æn. Li. 1.

Janus himſelf before his fane ſhall wait,
And keep the dreadful iſſues of his gate,
With bolts and iron bars: within remains
Impriſon'd *Fury*, bound in brazen chains:

High on a Trophy rais'd of uſeleſs arms
He ſits, and threats the world with dire alarms.
Mr. *Dryden.*

We are told by the old Scholiaſt, ſays *Eugenius*, that there was actually ſuch a ſtatue in the Temple of *Janus* as that *Virgil* has here deſcribed, which I am almoſt apt to believe, ſince you aſſure us that this part of the deſign is ſo often met with on ancient Medals. But have you nothing to remark on the figure of the Province? Her poſture, ſays *Philander*, is what we often meet with in the ſlaves and captives of old Coins: among the Poets too, ſitting on the ground is a mark of Miſery or Captivity.

Multos illa dies incomtis mæſta capillis
Sederat——— Propert. Li. 1.

O utinam ante tuos ſedeam captiva penates.
Id. L. 4.

O might I ſit a captive at thy gate!

You have the ſame poſture in an old Coin that celebrates a victory of *Lucius Verus* over the *Parthians*. The captive's hands are here bound behind him, as a farther inſtance of his ſlavery. FIG. 17.

Ecce manus juvenem interea poſt terga revinctum,
Paſtores magno ad Regem clamore ferebant.
Virg. Æn. L. 2.

Mean while, with ſhouts, the *Trojan* ſhepherds bring
A captive *Greek* in bands before the King.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Cui dedit invitas victa noverca manus. Ov.deFaſt.

Cùm rudis urgenti brachia victa dedi. Proper.L.4.

We may learn from *Ovid* that it was ſometimes the cuſtom to place a ſlave with his arms bound at the foot of the Trophy, as in the figure before us.

Stentque ſuper vinctos trunca trophæa viros.
Ov. Ep. ex Ponto L. 4.

You ſee on his head the cap which the *Parthians*, and indeed moſt of the eaſtern nations, wear on Medals. They had not probably the ceremony of veiling the Bonnet in their ſalutations, for in Medals they ſtill have it on their heads, whether they are before Emperors or Generals, kneeling, ſitting or ſtanding. *Martial* has diſtinguiſhed them by this cap as their chief characteriſtic.

Fruſtra blanditiæ venitis ad me
Attritis miſerabiles labellis,
Dicturus dominum, deumque non ſum:
Jam non eſt locus hâc in urbe vobis.
Ad Parthos procul ite pileatos,
Et turpes, humileſque ſupplices ſque
Pictorum ſola baſiate regum. Mart.Ep. 72.L.10.

In vain, mean flatteries, ye try,
To gnaw the lip, and fall the eye;
No man a God or Lord I name:
From *Romans* far be ſuch a ſhame!
Go teach the ſupple *Parthian* how
To veil the Bonnet on his brow:
Or on the ground all proſtrate fling
Some *Pict*, before his barbarous King.

I cannot hear, ſays *Cynthio*, without a kind of indignation, the ſatyrical reflections that *Martial* has made on the memory of *Domitian*. It is certain ſo ill an Emperor deſerved all the reproaches that could be heaped upon him, but he could not deſerve them of *Martial*. I muſt confeſs I am leſs ſcandaliſed at the flatteries the Epigrammatiſt paid him living, than the ingratitude he ſhowed him dead. A man may be betrayed into the one by an overſtrained complaiſance, or by a temper extremely ſenſible of favours and obligations: whereas the other can ariſe from nothing but a natural baſeneſs and villany of ſoul. It does not always happen, ſays *Philander*, that the Poet and the honeſt man meet together in the ſame perſon. I think we need enlarge no farther on this Medal, unleſs you have a mind to compare the Trophy on it with that of *Mezentius* in *Virgil*.

Ingentem quercum deciſis undique ramis
Conſtituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezentî ducis exuvias; tibi, magne, tropæum,
Bellipotens: aptat rorantes ſanguine criſtas,
Telaque trunca viri, et bis ſex thoraca petitum
Perfoſſumque locis; clypeumque ex ære ſiniſtræ
Subligat, atque enſem collo ſuſpendit eburnum.
Virg. Æn. Li. 11.

He bar'd an ancient Oak of all her boughs:
Then on a riſing ground the trunk he plac'd;
Which with the ſpoils of his dead foe he grac'd.
The coat of arms by proud *Mezentius* worn,
Now on a naked Snag in triumph born,
Was hung on high; and glitter'd from afar:
A trophy ſacred to the God of war.

Above his arms, fix'd on the leafleſs wood,
Appear'd his plumy creſt, beſmear'd with blood;
His brazen buckler on the left was ſeen;
Truncheons of ſhiver'd lances hung between:
And on the right was plac'd his Corſlet, bor'd,
And to the neck was ty'd his unavailing ſword.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Fig. 18. On the next Medal you ſee the Peace that *Veſpaſian* procured the Empire, after having happily finiſhed all its wars both at home and abroad. The woman with the olive-branch in her hand is the figure of *Peace.*

——————— pignora Pacis
Prætendens dextrâ ramum canentis olivæ.
Sil. It. Li. 3.

With the other hand ſhe thruſts a lighted torch under a heap of armour that lies by an Altar. This alludes to a cuſtom among the ancient *Romans* of gathering up the armour that lay ſcattered on the field of battle, and burning it as an offering to one of their Deities. It is to this cuſtom that *Virgil* refers, and *Silius Italicus* has deſcribed at large.

Qualis eram cùm primam aciem Præneſte ſub ipſâ
Stravi, ſcutorumque incendi victor acervos.
Virg. Æn. Li. 8.

Such as I was beneath *Præneſte*'s walls;
Then when I made the foremoſt foes retire,
And ſet whole heaps of conquer'd ſhields on fire.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Aſt tibi, Bellipotens, Sacrum, conſtructus acervo
Ingenti mons armorum conſurgit ad aſtra:
Ipſe manu celſam pinum, flammâque comantem
Attollens, ductor Gradivum in vota ciebat:
Primitias pugnæ, et læti libamina belli,
Hannibal Auſonio cremat hæc de nomine victor.
Et tibi, Mars genitor, votorum haud ſurde meorum,
Arma electa dicat ſpirantum turba virorum.
Tum face conjectâ, populatur fervidus ignis
Flagrantem molem; et ruptâ caligine, in auras
Actus apex claro perfundit lumine campos.
Sil. It. Li. 10.

To thee the Warrior-God, aloft in air
A mountain-pile of *Roman* Arms they rear:
The Gen'ral graſping in his Victor-hand
A pine of ſtately growth, he wav'd the brand,
And cry'd, O *Mars!* to thee devote I yield
Theſe choice firſt-fruits of Honour's purple field.
Join'd with the partners of my toil and praiſe,
Thy *Hannibal* this vow'd oblation pays;
Grateful to thee for *Latian* laurels won:
Accept this homage, and abſolve thy ſon.——
Then, to the pile the flaming torch he toſt;
In ſmould'ring ſmoke the light of Heav'n is loſt:
But when the fire increaſe of fury gains,
The blaze of Glory gilds the diſtant plains.

As for the heap of Arms, and mountain of Arms, that the Poet mentions, you may ſee them on two Coins of *Marcus Aurelius*. DE SARMATIS and DE GERMANIS allude perhaps to the form of words that might be uſed at the ſetting fire to them.---*Auſonio de nomine.* Thoſe

FIG. { 19. 20.

who will not allow of the interpretation I have put on theſe two laſt Medals may think it an objection that there is no torch or fire near them to ſignifie any ſuch alluſion. But they may conſider that on ſeveral Imperial Coins we meet with the figure of a funeral pile, without any thing to denote the burning of it, though indeed there is on ſome of them a Flambeau ſticking out on each ſide, to let us know it was to be conſumed to aſhes.

You have been ſo intent on the burning of the Arms, ſays *Cynthio*, that you have forgotten the Pillar on your 18th Medal. You may find the hiſtory of it, ſays *Philander*, in *Ovid de Faſtis.* It was from this Pillar that the ſpear was toſſed at the opening of a war, for which reaſon the little figure on the top of it holds a ſpear in its hand, and *Peace* turns her back upon it.

Proſpicit à templo ſummum brevis area Circum:
Eſt ibi non parvæ parva columna notæ:
Hinc ſolet haſta manu, belli prænuncia, mitti;
In regem et gentes cum placet arma capi.
Ov. de faſt. Li. 6.

Where the high Fane the ample Cirque commands
A little, but a noted pillar ſtands,
From hence, when *Rome* the diſtant Kings defies,
In form the war-denouncing Javelin flies.

FIG. 21. The different interpretations that have been made on the next Medal ſeem to be forced and unnatural. I will therefore give you my own opinion of it. The veſſel is here repreſented as ſtranded. The figure before it

ſeems to come in to its aſſiſtance, and to lift it off the ſhallows: for we ſee the water ſcarce reaches up to the knees, though it is the figure of a man ſtanding on firm ground. His attendants, and the good office he is employed upon, reſemble thoſe the Poets often attribute to *Neptune*. *Homer* tells us, that the Whales leaped up at their God's approach, as we ſee in the Medal. The two ſmall figures that ſtand naked among the waves are Sea-Deities of an inferiour rank, who are ſuppoſed to aſſiſt their Sovereign in the ſuccour he gives the diſtreſſed veſſel.

Cymothoë, ſimul et Triton adnixus acuto
Detrudunt naves ſcopulo; levat ipſe tridenti,
Et vaſtas aperit ſyrtes, et temperat æquor.
Virg. Æn. Li. 1.

Cymothoë, *Triton*, and the ſea-green train
Of beauteous Nymphs, the daughters of the main,
Clear from the rocks the veſſels with their hands;
The God himſelf with ready trident ſtands,
And opes the deep, and ſpreads the moving ſands.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Jam placidis ratis extat aquis, quam gurgite ab imo
Et Thetis, et magnis Nereus ſocer erigit ulnis.
Val. Flac. Li. 1.

The interpreters of this Medal have miſtaken theſe two figures for the repreſentation of two perſons that are drowning. But as they are both naked and drawn in a poſture rather of triumphing o'er the waves than of ſinking under them, ſo we ſee abundance of Water-Deities on other Medals repreſented after the ſame manner.

Ite Deæ virides, liquidoſque advertite vultus,
Et vitreum teneris crinem redimite corymbis,
Veſte nihil tectæ: quales emergitis altis
Fontibus, et viſu Satyros torquetis amantes.
Statius de Balneo Etruſci. Lib. 1.

Haſte, haſte, ye *Naiads!* with attractive art
New charms to ev'ry native grace impart:
With op'ning flourets bind your ſea-green hair,
Unveil'd; and naked let your limbs appear:
So from the ſprings the *Satyrs* ſee you riſe,
And drink eternal paſſion at their eyes.

After having thus far cleared our way to the Medal, I take the thought of the reverſe to be this. The ſtranded veſſel is the Commonwealth of *Rome*, that by the tyranny of *Domitian*, and the inſolence of the *Prætorian* Guards under *Nerva*, was quite run aground and in danger of periſhing. Some of thoſe embarked in it endeavour at her recovery, but it is *Trajan* that by the adoption of *Nerva* ſtems the tide to her relief, and like another *Neptune* ſhoves her off the quickſands. Your Device, ſays *Eugenius*, hangs very well together; but is not it liable to the ſame exceptions that you made us laſt night to ſuch explications as have nothing but the writer's imagination to ſupport them? To ſhew you, ſays *Philander*, that the conſtruction I put on this Medal is conformable to the fancies of the old *Romans*, you may obſerve, that *Horace* repreſents at length the Commonwealth of *Rome* under the figure of a ſhip, in the Allegory that you meet with in the fourteenth Ode of his firſt book.

O Navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus.——————

And ſhall the raging waves again
Bear thee back into the main? Mr. *Creech.*

Nor was any thing more uſual than to repreſent a God in the ſhape and dreſs of an Emperor.

——*Apelleæ cuperent te ſcribere ceræ,*
Optaſſetque novo ſimilem te ponere templo
Atticus Elei ſenior Jovis; et tua mitis
Ora Taras: tua ſidereas imitantia flammas
Lumina, contempto mallet Rhodos aſpera Phœbo.
Statius de Equo Domitiani Syl. 1.

Now had *Apelles* liv'd, he'd ſue to grace
His glowing Tablets with thy godlike face:
Phidias, a Sculptor for the Pow'rs above!
Had wiſh'd to place thee with his Iv'ry *Jove.*
Rhodes and *Tarentum*, that with Pride ſurvey,
The Thund'rer This, and That the God of day;
Each fam'd *Coloſſus* would exchange for Thee,
And own thy form the lovelieſt of the three.

For the thought in general, you have juſt the ſame metaphorical compliment to *Theodoſius* in *Claudian*, as the Medal here makes to *Trajan.*

Nulla relicta foret Romani nominis umbra,
Ni pater ille tuus jamjam ruitura ſubiſſet
Pondera, turbatamque ratem, certâque levaſſet
Naufragium commune manu. ——
Claudian. de 4*to* Conſ. Honorii.

Had not thy Sire deferr'd th' impending fate,
And with his ſolid virtue prop'd the ſtate;
Sunk in Oblivion's ſhade, the name of *Rome*,
An empty name! had ſcarce ſurviv'd her doom:
Half-wreck'd ſhe was, 'till his auſpicious hand
Reſum'd the rudder, and regain'd the land.

I ſhall only add, that this Medal was ſtamped in honour of *Trajan*, when he was only *Cæſar*, as appears by the face of it.... SARI TRAIANO.

FIG. 22. The next is a reverſe of *Marcus Aurelius*. We have on it a *Minerva* mounted on a monſter, that *Auſonius* deſcribes in the following verſes.

Illa etiam Thalamos per trina ænigmata querens
Qui bipes, et quadrupes foret, et tripes omnia ſolus;
Terruit Aoniam Volucris, Leo, Virgo; triformis
Sphinx, volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.

To form the monſter *Sphinx*, a triple kind,
Man, bird, and beaſt, by nature were combin'd:
With feather'd fans ſhe wing'd th' aerial ſpace;
And on her feet the Lion-claws diſgrace
The bloomy features of a Virgin-face.
O'er pale *Aönia* pannic horror ran,
While in myſterious ſpeech ſhe thus began:
" What animal, when yet the Morn is new,
" Walks on Four legs infirm; at Noon on Two:
" But day declining to the weſtern skies,
" He needs a Third; a Third the Night ſupplies?

The monſter, ſays *Cynthio*, is a Sphinx, but for her meaning on this Medal, I am not *OEdipus* enough to unriddle it. I muſt confeſs, ſays *Philander*, the Poets fail me in this particular. There is however a paſſage in *Pauſanias* that I will repeat to you, though it is in proſe, ſince I know no body elſe that has explained the Medal by it. The *Athenians*, ſays he, drew a Sphinx on the armour of *Pallas*, by reaſon of the ſtrength and ſagacity of this animal. The Sphinx therefore ſignifies the ſame as *Minerva* herſelf, who was the Goddeſs of arms as well as wiſdom, and deſcribes the Emperor, as one of the Poets expreſſes it,

—*Studiis florentem utriuſque Minervæ.*

Whom both *Minerva's* boaſt t'adopt their own.

The *Romans* joined both devices together, to make the emblem the more ſignificant, as indeed they could not too much extol the learning and military virtues of this excellent Emperor, who was the beſt Philoſopher and greateſt General of his Age.

We will cloſe up this Series of Medals with one that was ſtamped under *Tiberius* to the memory of *Auguſtus*. Over his head you ſee the ſtar that his father *Julius Cæſar* was ſuppoſed to have been changed into. FIG. 23.

Ecce Dionæi proceſſit Cæſaris aſtrum.
Virg. Ecl. 9.

See, *Cæſar*'s lamp is lighted in the skies.
Mr. *Dryden*.

———————*micat inter omnes*
Julium ſidus, velut inter ignes
Luna minores. Hor.

———*Julius Cæſar*'s light appears
As, in fair nights and ſmiling skies,
The beauteous *Moon* amidſt the meaner ſtars.
Mr. *Creech.*

Vix ea fatus erat, mediâ cùm ſede ſenatûs
Conſtitit alma Venus, nulli cernenda, ſuique
Cæſaris eripuit membris, nec in aëra ſolvi
Paſſa recentem animam, cœleſtibus intulit aſtris.
Dumque tulit lumen capere atque igneſcere ſenſit,
Emiſitque ſinu: Lunâ evolat altius illa,
Flammiferumque trahens ſpatioſo limite crinem,
Stella micat.——— ——— Ov. Met. Li. 15.

This ſpoke; the Goddeſs to the Senate flew;
Where, her fair form conceal'd from mortal view,
Her *Cæſar*'s heav'nly part ſhe made her care,
Nor left the recent Soul to waſte to air;
But bore it upwards to its native skies:
Glowing with new-born fires ſhe ſaw it riſe;
Forth ſpringing from her boſom up it flew,
And kindling, as it ſoar'd, a Comet grew;
Above the lunar ſphere it took its flight,
And ſhot behind it a long trail of light.
Mr. *Welſted.*

Virgil draws the ſame figure of *Auguſtus* on *Æneas*'s ſhield as we ſee on this Medal. The Commentators tell us, that the ſtar was engraven on *Auguſtus*'s helmet, but we may be ſure *Virgil* means ſuch a figure of the Emperor as he uſed to be repreſented by in the *Roman* ſculpture, and ſuch a one as we may ſuppoſe this to be that we have before us.

Hinc Auguſtus agens Italos in prælia Cæſar,
Cum patribus, populoque, Penatibus, et magnis Diis,
Stans celſâ in puppi; geminas cui tempora flammas
Læta vomunt, patriumque aperitur vertice ſidus.
Virg. Æn. Li. 8.

Young *Cæſar* on the ſtern in armour bright,
Here leads the *Romans*, and the Gods, to fight:
His beamy temples ſhoot their flames afar;
And o'er his head is hung the *Julian* ſtar.
Mr. *Dryden.*

The thunderbolt that lies by him is a mark of his Apotheoſis, that makes him as it were a companion of *Jupiter*. Thus the Poets of his own age that deified him living,

Diviſum Imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet. Virg.

Hic ſocium ſummo cum Jove numen habet. Ov.

—*regit Auguſtus ſocio per ſigna Tonante.*
Manil. Li. 1.

Sed tibi debetur cœlum, te fulmine pollens,
Accipiet cupidi Regia magna Jovis.
Ov. de Auguſto ad Liviam.

He wears on his head the *Corona Radiata*, which at that time was another type of his Divinity. The ſpikes that ſhoot out from the crown were to repreſent the rays of the Sun. There were twelve of them, in alluſion to the Signs of the *Zodiac*. It is this kind of crown that *Virgil* deſcribes.

——— ———ingenti mole Latinus
Quadrijugo vehitur curru, cui tempora circum
Aurati bis ſex radii fulgentia cingunt,
Solis avi ſpecimen.——— Virg. Æn. Lib. 12.

Four ſteeds the chariot of *Latinus* bear:
Twelve golden beams around his temples play,
To mark his lineage from the God of day.
Mr. *Dryden.*

FIG. 24: If you would know why the *corona radiata* is a repreſentation of the Sun, you may ſee it in the figure of *Apollo* in the next reverſe, where his head is encompaſſed with ſuch an arch of glory as *Ovid* and *Statius* mention, that might be put on and taken off at pleaſure.

—at genitor circum caput omne micantes
Depoſuit radios——— Ovid. Met. Lib. 2.

The tender Sire was touch'd with what he ſaid,
And flung the blaze of glories from his head.

Impoſuitque comæ radios —— Ibid.

Then fix'd his beamy circle on his head.

——licet ignipedum frænator equorum
Ipſe tuis alte radiantem crinibus arcum
Imprimat—— Statius. Theb. Lib. 1. ad Domitian.

Tho' *Phœbus* longs to mix his rays with thine,
And in thy glories more ſerenely ſhine. [Mr. *Pope.*

In his right hand he holds the whip with which he is ſuppoſed to drive the horſes of the Sun: as in a pretty paſſage of *Ovid*, that ſome of his editors muſt needs fancy ſpurious.

Colligit amentes, et adhuc terrore paventes,
Phœbus equos, ſtimuloque dolens et verbere ſævit:
Sævit enim, natumque objectat, et imputat illis.
Ov. Met. Lib. 2.

Prevail'd upon at length, again he took
The harneſs'd ſteeds, that ſtill with horrour ſhook,
And plies 'em with the laſh, and whips 'em on,
And, as he whips, upbraids 'em with his ſon.

The double-pointed dart in his left hand is an emblem of his beams, that pierce through ſuch an infinite depth of air, and enter into the very bowels of the earth. Accordingly *Lucretius* calls them the darts of the day, as *Auſonius* to make a ſort of witticiſm has follow'd his example.

Non radii ſolis, neque lucida tela Diei. Lucr.

Exultant udæ ſuper arida ſaxa rapinæ,
Luciferique pavent letalia tela Diei.
de piſcibus captis. Auſ. Eid. 10.

Caligo terræ ſcinditur,
Percuſſa ſolis ſpiculo. Prud. Hym. 2.

I have now given you a ſample of ſuch emblematical Medals as are unriddled by the *Latin* Poets, and have ſhown ſeveral paſſages in the *Latin* Poets that receive an illuſtration from Medals. Some of the Coins we have had before us have not been explained by others, as many of them have been explained in a different manner. There are indeed others that have had very near the ſame explication put upon them, but as this explication has been ſupported by no authority, it can at beſt be looked upon but as a probable conjecture. It is certain, ſays *Eugenius*, there cannot be any more authentic illuſtrations of *Roman* Medals, eſpecially of thoſe that are full of fancy, than ſuch as are drawn out of the *Latin* Poets. For as there is a great affinity between Deſigning and Poetry, ſo the *Latin* Poets, and the Deſigners of the *Roman* Medals, lived very near one another, were acquainted with the ſame cuſtoms, converſant with the ſame objects, and bred up to the ſame reliſh for wit and fancy. But who are the Ladies that we are next to examine? Theſe are, ſays *Philander*, ſo many Cities, Nations and Provinces that preſent themſelves to you under the ſhape of women. What you take for a fine Lady at firſt ſight, when you come to look into her will prove a town, a country, or one of the four parts of the world. In ſhort, you have now *Afric*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy*, and ſeveral other nations of the earth before you. This is one of the pleaſanteſt Maps, ſays *Cynthio*, that I ever ſaw. Your Geographers now and then fancy a country like a Leg or a Head, a Bear or a Dragon, but I never before ſaw them repreſented like women. I could not have thought your mountains, ſeas and promontories could have made up an aſſembly of ſuch well-ſhaped perſons. This therefore, ſays *Philander*, is a Geography particular to the Medalliſts. The Poets however have ſometimes given into it, and furniſh us with very good lights for the explication of it. The firſt Lady you ſee on the Liſt is *Africa*, ſhe carries an Elephant's tooth by her ſide.

Third Series.
FIG. I.

Dentibus ex illis quos mittit porta Syenes,
Et Mauri celeres, et Mauro obſcurior Indus:
Et quos depoſuit Nabathæo bellua ſaltu,
Jam nimios, capitique graves—— Juv. Sat. 11.

She is always quoiff'd with the head of an Elephant, to ſhow that this animal is the breed of that Country, as for the ſame reaſon ſhe has a Dragon lying at her feet.

Huic varias peſtes, diverſaque membra ferarum,
Conceſſit bellis natura infeſta futuris;
Horrendos angues, habitataque membra veneno,
Et mortis partus, viventia crimina terræ;
Et vaſtos Elephantes habet, ſævoſque Leones,
In pœnas fæcunda ſuas, parit horrida tellus.
Manil. Lib. 4. de Africâ.

Here Nature, angry with mankind, prepares
Strange monſters, inſtruments of future wars;
Here Snakes, thoſe Cells of poyſon, take their birth,
Thoſe living crimes and grievance of the earth;
Fruitful in its own plagues, the deſart ſhore
Hears Elephants, and frightful Lions roar.
Mr. *Creech.*

Lucan in his deſcription of the ſeveral noxious animals of this country, mentions in particular the flying Dragon that we ſee on this Medal.

Vos quoque, qui cunctis innoxia numina terris
Serpitis, aurato nitidi fulgore dracones,
Peſtiferos ardens facit Africa: ducitis altum
Aëra cum pennis, armentaque tota ſecuti
Rumpitis ingentes amplexi verbere tauros.
Nec tutus ſpatio eſt Elephas. datis omnia letho:
Nec vobis opus eſt ad noxia fata veneno.
Luc. Lib. 9.

And you, ye Dragons! of the ſcaly race,
Whom glittering gold and ſhining armours grace,
In other nations harmleſs are you found,
Their guardian Genii and Protectors own'd;
In *Afric* only are you fatal; there,
On wide-expanded wings, ſublime you rear
Your dreadful forms, and drive the yielding air.
The lowing Kine in droves you chace, and cull
Some maſter of the herd, ſome mighty Bull:
Around his ſtubborn ſides your tails you twiſt,
By force compreſs, and burſt his brawny cheſt.
Not Elephants are by their larger ſize
Secure, but with the reſt become your prize.
Reſiſtleſs in your Might, you all invade,
And for deſtruction need not poiſon's aid.
Mr. *Rowe*.

The Bull that appears on the other ſide of the Dragon, ſhows us that *Afric* abounds in agriculture.

———*tibi habe frumentum, Alledius inquit,*
O Libye, disjunge boves, dum tubera mittas.
Juv. Sat. 5.

———No more plough up the ground
O *Libya*, where ſuch muſhrooms can be found,
Alledius cries, but furniſh us with ſtore
Of muſhrooms, and import thy corn no more.
Mr. *Bowles*.

This part of the world has always on Medals ſomething to denote her wonderful fruitfulneſs, as it was indeed the great granary of *Italy*. In the two following figures, the handful of wheat, the *Cornu-copiæ*, and basket of corn, are all emblems of the ſame ſignification.

Sed quà ſe campis ſqualentibus Africa tendit,
Serpentum largo coquitur fæcunda veneno:
Felix quà pingues mitis plaga temperat agros;
Nec Cerere Ennæâ, Phario nec victa colono.
Sil. It. Lib. 1.

Frumenti quantum metit Africa——
Hor. Sat. 3. Lib. 2.

——ſegetes mirantur Iberas
Horrea; nec Libyæ ſenſerunt damna rebellis
Jam tranſalpinâ contenti meſſe Quirites.
Claud. in Eutrop. Lib. 1.

The Lion on the ſecond Medal marks her out for the FIG. 2.

————Leonum
Arida nutrix. Hor.

The Scorpion on the third is another of her productions, as *Lucan* mentions it in particular, in the long catalogue of her venomous animals. FIG. 3.

———quis fata putaret
Scorpion, aut vires maturæ mortis habere?
Ille minax nodis, et recto verbere ſævus,
Teſte tulit cœlo victi decus Orionis. Luc. Lib. 9.

Who, that the Scorpion's inſect form ſurveys.
Would think that ready Death his call obeys?
Threat'ning he rears his knotty tail on high,
The vaſt *Orion* thus he doom'd to die,
And fix'd him, his proud trophy, in the sky.
Mr. *Rowe.*

The three figures you have here ſhown us, ſays *Eugenius*, give me an idea of a deſcription or two in *Claudian*, that I muſt confeſs I did not before know what to make of. They repreſent *Africa* in the ſhape of a woman, and certainly allude to the corn and head-dreſs that ſhe wears on old Coins.

——*mediis apparet in aſtris*
Africa, reſciſſæ veſtes, et ſpicea paſſim
Serta jacent, lacero crinales vertice dentes,
Et fractum pendebat ebur— Claud. de Bel. Gild.

Next *Afric*, mounting to the bleſt Abodes,
Penſive approach'd the Synod of the Gods:
No arts of dreſs the weeping Dame adorn;
Her garments rent, and wheaten garlands torn:
The fillets, grac'd with teeth in Ivory rows,
Broke and diſorder'd dangle on her brows.

Tum ſpicis et dente comas illuſtris eburno,
Et calido rubicunda die, ſic Africa fatur.
Claud. de Conſ. Stil. Lib. 2.

I think, ſays *Philander*, there is no queſtion but the Poet has copied out in his deſcription the figure that *Africa* made in ancient ſculpture and painting. The next before us is *Egypt.*

FIG. 4. Her basket of wheat ſhows us the great fruitfulneſs of the country, which is cauſed by the inundations of the *Nile.*

Syrtibus hinc Libycis tuta eſt Ægyptus: at inde
Gurgite ſepteno rapidus mare ſummovet amnis:
Terra ſuis contenta bonis, non indiga mercis,
Aut Jovis; in ſolo tanta eſt fiducia Nilo.
Luc. Lib. 8.

By Nature ſtrengthned with a dang'rous ſtrand,
Her Syrts and untry'd channels guard the land.
Rich in the fatneſs of her plenteous ſoil,
She plants her only confidence in *Nile.*
Mr. *Rowe.*

The inſtrument in her hand is the *Siſtrum* of the *Egyptians*, made uſe of in the worſhip of the Goddeſs *Iſis.*

——— *Nilotica ſiſtris*
Ripa ſonat —— Claud. de 4*to* Conſ. Honor.

On Medals you ſee it in the hand of *Egypt*, of *Iſis*, or any of her Worſhippers. The Poets too make the ſame uſe of it, as *Virgil* has placed it in *Cleopatra*'s hand, to diſtinguiſh her from an *Egyptian.*

Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina ſiſtro.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

The Queen her ſelf, amidſt the loud alarms,
With Cymbals toſs'd, her fainting ſoldiers warms.
Mr. *Dryden.*

———— *reſtabant Actia bella,*
Atque ipſa Iſiaco certârunt fulmina ſiſtro.
Manil. Lib. 1.

———— *imitataque Lunam*
Cornua fulſerunt, crepuitque ſonabile ſiſtrum.
de Iſide. Ov. Met. Lib. 9.

———The lunar horns, that bind
The brows of *Iſis*, caſt a blaze around;
The trembling Timbrel made a murm'ring ſound.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Quid tua nunc Iſis tibi, Delia? quid mihi proſunt
Ilia tuâ toties æra repulſa manu?
Tib. Lib. 1. El. 3.

Nos in templa tuam Romana accepimus Iſin,
Semideoſque canes, et ſiſtra jubentia luctus.
Luc. Lib. 8.

Have we with honours dead *Oſiris* crown'd,
And mourn'd him to the Timbrel's tinkling ſound?
Receiv'd her *Iſis* to divine abodes,
And rank'd her dogs deform'd, with *Roman* Gods? Mr. *Rowe.*

The bird before her is the *Egyptian Ibis.* This figure however does not repreſent the living bird, but rather an idol of it, as one may gueſs by the pedeſtal it ſtands upon, for the *Egyptians* worſhipped it as a God.

Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet ſaturam ſerpentibus Ibin;
Effigies ſacri nitet aurea Circopitheci. Juv. Sat. 15.

How *Egypt*, mad with ſuperſtition grown,
Makes Gods of monſters, but too well is known:
One ſect devotion to *Nile*'s ſerpent pays;
Others to *Ibis*, that on ſerpents preys.

Where, *Thebes*, thy hundred gates lie unrepair'd,
And where maim'd *Memnon*'s magick harp is heard,
Where theſe are mould'ring left, the ſots combine
With pious care a Monkey to enſhrine.
Mr. *Tate*.

Venerem precaris? comprecare et Simiam.
Placet ſacratus aſpis Æſculapii?
Crocodilus, Ibis et Canes cur diſplicent?
Prudentius. Pas. 1. Romani.

FIG. 5.

We have *Mauritania* on the fifth Medal, leading a horſe with ſomething like a thread, for where there is a bridle in old Coins you ſee it much more diſtinctly. In her other hand ſhe holds a ſwitch. We have the deſign of this Medal in the following deſcriptions that celebrate the *Moors* and *Numidians*, Inhabitants of *Mauritania*, for their horſemanſhip.

Hic paſſim exultant Numidæ, gens inſcia freni:
Queis inter geminas per ludum mobilis aures
Quadrupedum flectit non cedens virga lupatis:
Altrix bellorum bellatorumque virorum,
Tellus———— Sil. It. Li. 1.

On his hot Steed, unus'd to curb or rein,
The black *Numidian* prances o'er the plain:
A wand betwixt his ears directs the courſe,
And as a Bridle turns th' obedient horſe.

—— *an Mauri fremitum raucoſque repulſus*
Umbonum et noſtros paſſuri, comminus enſes?
Non contra clypeis tectos, galeiſque micantes

Ibitis; in ſolis longè fiducia telis.
Exarmatus erit, cum miſſile torſerit, hoſtis.
Dextra movet jaculum, prætentat pallia lævâ,
Cætera nudus Eques; ſonipes ignarus habenæ:
Virga regit, non ulla fides, non agminis ordo;
Arma oneri.——— Claud. de Bel: Gildon.

Can *Moors* ſuſtain the preſs, in cloſe-fought fields,
Of ſhorten'd fauchions and repelling ſhields?
Againſt a hoſt of quiv'ring ſpears ye go,
Nor helm nor buckler guards the naked foe;
The naked foe, who vainly truſts his art,
And flings away his armour in his dart:
His dart the right hand ſhakes, the left uprears
His robe, beneath his tender skin appears.
Their Steeds un-rein'd, obey the horſeman's wand,
Nor know their legions when to march, or ſtand;
In the war's dreadful laws untaught and rude,
A mob of men, a martial multitude.

The Horſe too may ſtand as an emblem of the warlike genius of the people.

Bello armantur Equi, bella hæc armenta minantur.
Virg. Æn. Li. 3.

Fig. 6. From *Africa* we will croſs over into *Spain*. There are learned Medalliſts that tell us, the Rabbet which you ſee before her feet, may ſignifie either the great multitude of theſe Animals that are found in *Spain*, or perhaps the ſeveral mines that are wrought within the bowels of that country, the *Latin* word *Cuniculus* ſignifying either a Rabbet or a Mine. But theſe Gentlemen do not conſider, that it is not

the Word but the Figure that appears on the Medal. *Cuniculus* may ſtand for a Rabbet or a Mine, but the picture of a Rabbet is not the picture of a Mine. A pun can be no more engraven than it can be tranſlated. When the word is conſtrued into its idea the double meaning vaniſhes. The figure therefore before us means a real Rabbet, which is there found in vaſt multitudes.

Cuniculoſæ Celtiberiæ fili. Catul. in Egnatium.

The Olive-branch tell us, it is a country that abounds in Olives, as it is for this reaſon that *Claudian* in his deſcription of *Spain* binds an Olive branch about her head.

———*glaucis tum prima Minervæ*
Nexâ comam foliis, fulvâque intexta micantem
Veſte Tagum, tales profert Hiſpania voces.
Claud. de Laud. Stil. Li. 2.

Thus *Spain*, whoſe brows the olive wreaths infold,
And o'er her robe a *Tagus* ſtreams in gold.

Martial has given us the like figure of one of the greateſt rivers in *Spain.*

Bœtis olivifera crinem redimite coronâ,
Aurea qui nitidis vellera tingis aquis:
Quem Bromius quem Pallas amat——
Mar. Li. 12. Ep. 99.

Fair *Bœtis!* Olives wreath thy azure locks;
In fleecy gold thou cloath'ſt the neighb'ring flocks:

Thy fruitful banks with rival-bounty ſmile,
While *Bacchus* wine beſtows, and *Pallas* oil.

And *Prudentius* of one of its eminent towns.

Tu decem ſanctos revehes et octo,
Cæſar Auguſta ſtudioſa Chriſti,
Verticem flavis oleis revincta
Pacis honore. Prudent. Hymn. 4.

Fig. 7. *France*, you ſee, has a Sheep by her, not only as a ſacrifice, but to ſhew that the riches of the country conſiſted chiefly in flocks and paſturage. Thus *Horace* mentioning the commodities of different countries,

Quanquam nec Calabræ mella ferunt apes,
Nec Læſtrigoniâ Bacchus in amphorâ
Langueſcit mihi, nec pinguia Gallicis
Creſcunt vellera paſcuis. Hor. Od. 16. Li. 3.

Tho' no *Calabrian* Bees do give
Their grateful tribute to my hive;
No wines, by rich *Campania* ſent,
In my ignoble casks ferment;
No flocks in *Gallic* plains grow fat;——
Mr. *Creech*.

She carries on her ſhoulders the *Sagulum* that *Virgil* ſpeaks of as the habit of the ancient *Gauls*.

Aurea cæſaries ollis, atque aurea veſtis:
Virgatis lucent ſagulis—— Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

The gold diſſembled well their yellow hair;
And golden chains on their white necks they wear;
Gold are their veſts——— Mr. *Dryden.*

She is drawn in a poſture of ſacrificing for the ſafe arrival of the Emperor, as we may learn from the inſcription. We find in the ſeveral Medals that were ſtruck on *Adrian*'s progreſs through the Empire, that at his arrival they offered a ſacrifice to the Gods for the reception of ſo great a bleſſing. *Horace* mentions this cuſtom.

Tum meæ (ſi quid loquar audiendum)
Vocis accedet bona pars; et O Sol
Pulcher, ô laudande, canam, recepto
Cæſare felix.——

Te decem tauri, totidemque vaccæ;
Me tener ſolvet vitulus—— Hor. Od. 2. Lib. 4.

And there, if any patient ear
My Muſe's feeble ſong will hear
My voice ſhall ſound thro' *Rome:*
Thee, Sun, I'll ſing, thee, lovely fair,
Thee, thee I'll praiſe, when *Cæſar*'s come.——

Ten large fair bulls, ten luſty cows,
Muſt die, to pay thy richer vows;
Of my ſmall ſtock of kine
A calf juſt wean'd—— Mr. *Creech.*

Italy has a *Cornu-copiæ* in her hand, FIG. 8. to denote her fruitfulneſs;

——*magna parens frugum Saturnia tellus.*
Virg. Geor. 3.

and a crown of towers on her head to figure out the many towns and cities that ſtand upon her. *Lucan* has given her the like ornament, where he repreſents her addreſſing her ſelf to *Julius Cæſar.*

Ingens viſa duci patriæ trepidantis Imago:
Clara per obſcuram vultu mæſtiſſima noctem,
Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines,
Cæſarie, lacerâ nudiſque adſtare lacertis,
Et gemitu permiſta loqui——— Lucan. Lib. 1.

Amidſt the dusky horrors of the night,
A wondrous viſion ſtood confeſt to ſight;
Her awful head *Rome*'s rev'rend image rear'd,
Trembling and ſad the Matron form appear'd;
A tow'ry crown her hoary temples bound,
And her torn treſſes rudely hung around:
Her naked arms uplifted ere ſhe ſpoke,
Then groaning thus the mournful ſilence broke.
Mr. *Rowe.*

She holds a ſceptre in her other hand, and ſits on a globe of the heavens, to ſhew that ſhe is the Sovereign of nations, and that all the influences of the Sun and Stars fall on her dominions. *Claudian* makes the ſame compliment to *Rome.*

Ipſa triumphatis quæ poſſidet æthera regnis.
Claud. in Prob. et Olyb. Conſ.

Jupiter arce ſuâ totum dum ſpectat in orbem,
Nil niſi Romanum quod tueatur habet.
Ov. de faſt. Lib. 1.

Jove finds no realm, when he the globe ſurveys,
But what to *Rome* ſubmiſſive homage pays.

Orbem jam totum victor Romanus habebat,
Quà mare, quà tellus, quà ſidus currit utrumque.
Petron.

Now *Rome*, ſole Empreſs reigns from pole to pole,
Where-ever earth extends, or oceans roll.

The picture that *Claudian* makes of *Rome* one would think was copied from the next Medal. FIG. 9.

——innuptæ ritus imitata Minervæ:
Nam neque cæſariem crinali ſtringere cultu,
Colla nec ornatu patitur mollire retorto:
Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
Audacem retegit mammam, laxumque coercens
Mordet gemma ſinum.——
Clipeus Titana laceſſit
Lumine, quem totâ variarat Mulciber arte;
Hîc patrius, Mavortis amor, fœtuſque notantur
Romulei. poſt amnis ineſt, et bellua nutrix.
Claud. in Prob. et Olyb. Conſ.

No coſtly fillets knot her hair behind,
Nor female trinkets round her neck are twin'd.
Bold on the right her naked arm ſhe ſhows,
And half the boſom's unpolluted ſnows;
Whilſt on the left is buckled o'er her breaſt,
In diamond claſps, the military veſt.
The Sun was dazled as her ſhield ſhe rear'd,
Where, varied o'er by *Mulciber*, appear'd
The loves of *Mars* her Sire, fair *Ilia*'s joys,
The wolf, the *Tyber*, and the infant boys.

The next figure is *Achaia*. FIG. 10.

I am ſorry, ſays *Cynthio*, to find you running farther off us. I was in hopes you would have ſhown us our own nation, when you were ſo near us as *France*. I have here, ſays **Fig. 11.** *Philander*, one of *Auguſtus*'s *Britannia's*. You ſee ſhe is not drawn like other countries, in a ſoft peaceful poſture, but is adorned with emblems that mark out the military genius of her Inhabitants. This is, I think, the only commendable quality that the old Poets have touched upon in the deſcription of our country. I had once made a collection of all the paſſages in the *Latin* Poets, that give any account of us, but I find them ſo very malicious, that it would look like a libel on the nation to repeat them to you. We ſeldom meet with our forefathers, but they are coupled with ſome epithet or another to blacken them. Barbarous, Cruel and Inhoſpitable are the beſt terms they can afford us, which it would be a kind of injuſtice to publiſh, ſince their poſterity are become ſo polite, good-natured, and kind to ſtrangers. To mention therefore thoſe parts only that relate to the preſent Medal. She ſits on a globe that ſtands in water, to denote that ſhe is Miſtreſs of a new world, ſeparate from that which the *Romans* had before conquered, by the interpoſition of the ſea. I think we cannot doubt of this interpretation, if we conſider how ſhe has been repreſented by the ancient Poets.

Et penitus toto diviſos orbe Britannos. Virg.Ec.1.

The reſt among the *Britons* be confin'd;
A race of men from all the world disjoin'd.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Adſpice, confundit populos impervia tellus :
Conjunctum eſt, quod adhuc orbis, et orbis erat.
Vet. Poet. apud Scalig. Catul.

At nunc oceanus geminos interluit orbes.
Id. de Britanniâ et oppoſito Continente.

——*noſtro diducta Britannia mundo.* Claud.

Nec ſtetit oceano, remiſque ingreſſa profundum,
Vincendos alio quæſivit in orbe Britannos. Id.

The feet of *Britannia* are waſhed by the waves, in the ſame Poet.

————*cujus veſtigia verrit*
Cœrulus, oceanique æſtum mentitur, amictus.
Id. de Laud. Stil. Lib. 2.

She bears a *Roman* Enſign in one of her hands, to confeſs herſelf a conquered province.

————*victricia Cæſar*
Signa Caledonios tranſvexit ad uſque Britannos.
Sidon. Apollin.

But to return to *Achaia*, whom we left upon her knees before the Emperor *Adrian*. She has a pot before her with a ſprig of Parſly riſing out of it. I will not here trouble you with a dull ſtory of *Hercules*'s eating a ſallade of Parſly for his refreſhment, after his encounter with the *Nemean* Lion. It is certain, there were in *Achaia* the *Nemean* Games, and that a garland of Parſly was the Victor's reward. You have an account of theſe Games in *Auſonius*.

FIG. 10.

Quattuor antiquos celebravit Achaïa Ludos,
Cœlicolûm duo ſunt, et duo feſta hominum.
Sacra Jovis, Phœbique, Palæmonis, Archemorique:
Serta quibus pinus, malus, oliva, apium.
Auſ. de Luſtral. Agon.

Greece, in four games thy martial youth were train'd;
For Heroes two, and two for Gods ordain'd:
Jove bade the Olive round his Victor wave;
Phœbus to his an Apple-garland gave;
The Pine, *Palæmon*; nor with leſs renown,
Archemorus conferr'd the Parſly-crown.

Archemori Nemeæa colunt funebria Thebæ.
Id. de locis Agon.

—*Alcides Nemeæ ſacravit honorem.*
de Auct. Agon. Id.

Archemori Nemeæa colunt funebria Thebæ. Id.

One reaſon why they choſe Parſly for a Garland, was doubtleſs becauſe it always preſerves its verdure, as *Horace* oppoſes it to the ſhort-lived Lilly.

Neu vivax apium, nec breve lilium. Lib. 1. Od. 36.

Let fading Lillies and the Roſe
Their beauty and their ſmell diſcloſe;
Let long-liv'd Parſly grace the feaſt,
And gently cool the heated gueſt. [Mr. *Creech.*

Juvenal mentions the Crown that was made of it, and which here ſurrounds the head of *Achaia.*

—— *Graiæque apium meruiſſe coronæ.* Juv. Sat. 8.

And winning at a Wake their Parſly crown.
Mr. *Stepney*.

She preſents herſelf to the Emperor in the ſame poſture that the *Germans* and *Engliſh* ſtill ſalute the Imperial and Royal family.

—— *jus imperiumque Phraates*
Cæſaris accepit genibus minor.——
Hor. Epiſ. 12. Li. 1.

The haughty *Parthian* now to *Cæſar* kneels.
Mr. *Creech*.

Ille qui donat diadema fronti
Quem genu nixæ tremuere gentes.
Senec. Thyeſt. Act. 3.

——*Non, ut inflexo genu.*
Regnantem adores, petimus. Id.

Te linguis variæ gentes, miſſique rogatum
Fœdera Perſarum proceres cum patre ſedentem,
Hac quondam videre domo; poſitâque tiarâ
Submiſere genu.—— Claud. ad Honorium.

Thy infant Virtue various climes admir'd,
And various tongues to ſound thy praiſe conſpir'd:
Thee next the Sovereign ſeat, the *Perſians* view'd,
When in this Regal Dome for peace they ſu'd:
Each Turban low, in ſign of worſhip, wav'd;
And every knee confeſt the boon they crav'd.

Sicily appears before *Adrian* in the ſame poſture. She has a bundle of Corn in FIG. 12.

in her hand, and a Garland of it on her head, as ſhe abounds in wheat, and was conſecrated to *Ceres.*

Utraque frugiferis eſt Inſula nobilis arvis:
Nec plus Heſperiam longinquis meſſibus ullæ,
Nec Romana complerunt horrea terræ.
de Sicilia et Sardinia. Luc. Li. 2.

Sardinia too, renown'd for yellow fields,
With *Sicily* her bounteous tribute yields;
No lands a glebe of richer tillage boaſt,
Nor waft more plenty to the *Roman* coaſt.
Mr. *Rowe.*

Terra tribus ſcopulis vatum procurrit in æquor
Trinacris, a poſitu nomen adepta loci,
Grata domus Cereri. multas ibi poſſidet urbes:
In quibus eſt culto fertilis Henna ſolo.
Ov. de Faſt. Li. 4.

To *Ceres* dear, the fruitful land is fam'd
For three tall Capes, and thence *Trinacria* nam'd:
There *Henna* well rewards the tiller's toil,
The faireſt Champian of the faireſt Iſle.

Fig. 13. We find *Judæa* on ſeveral coins of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, in a poſture that denotes ſorrow and captivity. The firſt figure of her is drawn to the life, in a picture that *Seneca* has given us of the *Trojan* matrons bewailing their captivity.

——— *paret exertos*
Turba lacertos. Veſte remiſſâ
Subſtringe ſinus, uteroque tenus
Pateant artus———

——— *cadat ex humeris*
Veſtis apertis: imumque tegat
Suffulta latus. jam nuda vocant
Pectora dextras. nunc nunc vires
Exprome, Dolor, tuas.
Hecuba ad Trojan. chor. Sen. Troas. Act. 1.

——————Bare
Your arms, your veſtures ſlackly ty'd
Beneath your naked boſoms, ſlide
Down to your waſtes———
——————————Let
From your diveſted ſhoulders ſlide
Your garments, down on either ſide.
Now bared boſoms call for blows,
Now, Sorrow, all thy pow'rs diſcloſe.
Sir *Ed. Sherburn.*

———*apertæ pectora matres*
Significant luctum ——— Ov. Met. Li. 13.

Who bar'd their breaſts, and gave their hair to flow:
The ſigns of grief, and mark of publick woe.

The head is veiled in both figures, as another expreſſion of grief.

——*ipſa triſti veſtis obtentu caput*
Velata, juxta præſides aſtat Deos.
Sen. Herc. fur. Act. 2.

Sic ubi fata, caput ferali obducit amictu,
Decrevitque pati tenebras, puppiſque cavernis
Delituit: ſævumque arctè complexa dolorem
Perfruitur lacrymis, et amat pro conjuge luctum.
Luc. Li. 9. de Corneliâ.

So ſaid the Matron; and about her head
Her veil ſhe draws, her mournful eyes to ſhade:
Reſolv'd to ſhroud in thickeſt ſhades her woe,
She ſeeks the ſhip's deep darkſome Hold below:
There lonely left, at leiſure to complain,
She hugs her ſorrows, and enjoys her pain;
Still with freſh tears the living grief would feed,
And fondly loves it, in her husband's ſtead.
Mr. *Rowe.*

I need not mention her ſitting on the ground, becauſe we have already ſpoken of the aptneſs of ſuch a poſture to repreſent an extreme affliction. I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the *Romans* might have an eye on the cuſtoms of the *Jewiſh* nation, as well as of thoſe of their country, in the ſeveral marks of ſorrow they have ſet on this figure. The Pſalmiſt deſcribes the *Jews* lamenting their captivity in the ſame penſive poſture. *By the waters of* Babylon *we ſate down and wept, when we remembred thee, O* Sion. But what is more remarkable, we find *Judæa* repreſented as a woman in ſorrow ſitting on the ground, in a paſſage of the Prophet that foretells the very captivity reced on this Medal. The covering of the head, and the rending of garments, we find very often in Holy Scripture, as the expreſſions of a raging grief. But what is the tree we ſee on both theſe Medals? We find, ſays *Philander*, not only on theſe, but on ſeveral other coins that relate to *Judæa*, the figure of a Palm-tree, to ſhow us that Palms are the growth of the country. Thus *Silius Italicus*, ſpeaking of *Veſpaſian*'s conqueſt, that is the ſubject of this Medal.

Palmiferamque ſenex bello domitabit Idumen.
Sil. It. Li. 3.

Martial ſeems to have hinted at the many pieces of painting and ſculpture that were occaſioned by this conqueſt of *Judæa*, and had generally ſomething of the Palm-tree in them. It begins an Epigram on the death of *Scorpus* a chariot-driver, which in thoſe degenerate times of the Empire was looked upon as a public calamity.

Triſtis Idumæas frangat Victoria palmas;
Plange Favor ſæva pectora nuda manu.
Mart. Li. 10. Epig. 50.

The man by the Palm-tree in the firſt of theſe Medals, is ſuppoſed to be a *Jew* with his hands bound behind him.

I need not tell you that the winged figure on the other Medal is a *Victory*. She is repreſented here as on many other coins, writing ſomething on a ſhield. We find this way of regiſtring a *Victory* touched upon in *Virgil*, and *Silius Italicus*.

Fig. 14.

Ære cavo clypeum, magni geſtamen Abantis,
Poſtibus adverſis figo, et rem carmine ſigno;
Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma.
Virg. Æn. Lib. 3.

I fix'd upon the Temple's lofty door
The brazen ſhield, which vanquiſh'd *Abas* bore:
The verſe beneath my name and actions ſpeaks,
"Theſe arms *Æneas* took from conqu'ring *Greeks*.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Pyrenes tumulo clypeum cum carmine figunt;
Haſdrubalis ſpolium Gradivo Scipio victor.
Sil. Ital. Li. 15.

High on *Pyrene*'s airy top they plac'd,
The captive Shield, with this inſcription grac'd:
" Sacred to *Mars*, theſe votive ſpoils proclaim
" The fate of *Aſdrubal*, and *Scipio*'s fame.

FIG 15. *Parthia* has on one ſide of her the Bow and Quiver which are ſo much talked of by the Poets. *Lucan*'s account of the *Parthians* is very pretty and poetical.

——— *Parthoque ſequente*
Murus erit, quodcunque poteſt obſtare ſagittæ——
Illita tela dolis, nec Martem comminus unquam
Auſa pati virtus, ſed longè tendere nervos,
Et, quo ferre velint, permittere vulnera ventis.
Luc. Li. 8.

Each fence, that can their winged ſhafts endure,
Stands, like a fort, impregnable, ſecure——
To taint their coward darts is all their care,
And then to truſt them to the flitting air.
Mr. *Rowe.*

——*Sagittiferoſque Parthos.* Catul.

The Crown ſhe holds in her hand, refers to the crown of gold that *Parthia*, as well as other provinces, preſented to the Emperor *Antonine*. The preſenting a Crown, was the giving up the ſovereignty into his hands.

Ipſe oratores ad me, regnique coronam,
Cum ſceptro miſit—— Virg. Æn. Lib. 8.

Tarchon, the *Tuſcan* Chief, to me has ſent
Their Crown, and ev'ry regal ornament.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Antioch has an Anchor by her, in memory of her founder *Seleucus*, whoſe race was all born with this mark upon them, if you'll believe Hiſtorians. *Auſonius* has taken notice of it in his verſes on this city. Fig. 16.

——————*Illa Seleucum*
Nuncupat ingenuum, cujus fuit Anchora ſignum,
Qualis inuſta ſolet; generis nota certa, per omnem
Nam ſobolis ſeriem nativa cucurrit imago.
Auſ. Ordo Nobil. Urbium.

Thee, great *Seleucus*, bright in *Grecian* fame!
The tow'rs of *Antioch* for their founder claim:
Thee *Phœbus* at thy birth his ſon confeſt,
By the fair Anchor on the babe impreſt;
Which all thy genuine off-ſpring wont to grace,
From thigh to thigh tranſmiſſive thro' the race.

Smyrna is always repreſented by an *Amazon*, that is ſaid to have been her firſt foundreſs. You ſee her here entring into a league with *Thyatira*. Each of them holds her tutelar Deity in her hand. Fig. 17.

Jus ille, et icti fœderis teſtes Deos
Invocat.———— Sen. Phæniſſæ. Act. 1.

On the left arm of *Smyrna*, is the *Pelta* or Buckler of the *Amazons*, as the long weapon by her is the *Bipennis* or *Securis*.

Non tibi Amazonia eſt pro me ſumenda ſecuris,
Aut exciſa levi pelta gerenda manu.
Ov. Li. 3. Epiſ. 1. ex Pont.

Lunatis agmina peltis. Virg.

In their right hands a pointed Dart they wield;
The left, for ward, ſuſtains the lunar Shield.
Mr. *Dryden.*

Videre Rhæti bella ſub Alpibus
Druſum gerentem, et Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus per omne
Tempus Amazonia ſecuri
Dextras obarmet quærere diſtuli. Hor. Od. 4. Li. 4.

Such *Druſus* did in arms appear,
When near the *Alps* he urg'd the war:
In vain the *Rhæti* did their axes wield,
Like *Amazons* they fought, like women fled the field:
But why thoſe ſavage troops this weapon chuſe,
Confirm'd by long eſtabliſh'd uſe,
Hiſtorians would in vain diſcloſe.

Fig. 18. The dreſs that *Arabia* appears in, brings to my mind the deſcription *Lucan* has made of theſe eaſtern nations.

Quicquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique teporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia cœli.
Illic et laxas veſtes, et fluxa virorum
Velamenta vides.—— Luc. Lib. 8.

While *Aſia*'s ſofter climate, form'd to pleaſe,
Diſſolves her ſons in indolence and eaſe.

Here ſilken robes inveſt unmanly limbs,
And in long trains the flowing Purple ſtreams.
Mr. *Rowe*.

She bears in one hand a ſprig of frankincenſe.

——*ſolis eſt thurea virga Sabeis.* Virg.

And od'rous frankincenſe on the *Sabæan* bough.
Mr. *Dryden*.

Thuriferos Arabum ſaltus. Claud. de 3. Conſ. Hon.

Thurilegos Arabas—— Ov. de Faſ. Lib. 4.

In the other hand you ſee the perfumed reed, as the garland on her head may be ſuppoſed to be woven out of ſome other part of her fragrant productions.

Nec procul in molles Arabas terramque ferentem
Delicias, variæque novos radicis honores;
Leniter adfundit gemmantia littora pontus,
Et terræ mare nomen habet——
de ſinu Arabico. Manil. Lib. 4.

More weſt the other ſoft *Arabia* beats,
Where incenſe grows, and pleaſing odour ſweats;
The Bay is call'd th' *Arabian* gulf; the name
The country gives it, and 'tis great in fame.
Mr. *Creech*.

Urantur pia thura focis, urantur odores,
Quos tener à terrâ divite mittit Arabs.
Tibul. Lib. 2. El. 2.

————*ſit dives amomo,*
Cinnamaque, coſtumque ſuam, ſudataque ligno
Thura

Thura ferat, floreſque alios Panchaïa tellus,
Dum ferat, et Myrrham. Ov. Met. Lib. 10.

Let *Araby* extol her happy coaſt,
Her Cinnamon, and ſweet *Amomum* boaſt;
Her fragrant flowers, her trees with precious tears,
Her ſecond harveſts, and her double years:
How can the land be call'd ſo bleſs'd, that *Myrrha* bears? Mr. *Dryden.*

——*Odoratæ ſpirant medicamina Sylvæ.* Manil.

The trees drop balſam, and on all the boughs
Health ſits, and makes it ſovereign as it flows.
Mr. *Creech.*

Cinnami ſylvas Arabes beatos
Vidit—— —— Sen. OEdip. Act. 1.

What a delicious country is this, ſays *Cynthio*? a man almoſt ſmells it in the deſcriptions that are made of it. The Camel is in *Arabia*, I ſuppoſe, a beaſt of burden, that helps to carry off its ſpices. We find the Camel, ſays *Philander*, mentioned in *Perſius* on the ſame account.

Tolle recens primus piper è ſitiente Camelo.
Perſ. Sat. 5.

—— ——The precious weight
Of pepper and *Sabæan* incenſe, take
With thy own hands from the tir'd Camel's back.
Mr. *Dryden.*

He loads the Camel with pepper, becauſe the animal and its cargo are both the productions of the ſame country. *Mercibus*

Mercibus hic Italis mutat ſub ſole recenti
Rugoſum piper——— Id. Sat. 5.

The greedy Merchants, led by lucre, run
To the parch'd *Indies* and the riſing Sun;
From thence hot pepper, and rich drugs they bear,
Bart'ring for ſpices their *Italian* ware.
Mr. *Dryden.*

You have given us ſome quotations out of *Perſius* this morning, ſays *Eugenius*, that in my opinion have a great deal of poetry in them. I have often wondered at Mr. *Dryden* for paſſing ſo ſevere a cenſure on this Author. He fancies the deſcription of a Wreck that you have already cited, is too good for *Perſius*, and that he might be helpt in it by *Lucan*, who was one of his contemporaries. For my part, ſays *Cynthio*, I am ſo far from Mr. *Dryden*'s opinion in this particular, that I fancy *Perſius* a better Poet than *Lucan*: and that had he been engaged on the ſame ſubject, he would at leaſt in his Expreſſions and Deſcriptions have out-writ the *Pharſalia*. He was indeed employed on ſubjects that ſeldom led him into any thing like Deſcription, but where he has an occaſion of ſhewing himſelf, we find very few of the *Latin* Poets that have given a greater beauty to their Expreſſions. His obſcurities are indeed ſometimes affected, but they generally ariſe from the remoteneſs of the Cuſtoms, Perſons and Things he alludes to: as Satyr is for this reaſon more difficult to be underſtood by thoſe that are not of the ſame Age with it, than any other kind of Poetry. Love-verſes and

Heroics deal in Images that are ever fixed and ſettled in the nature of things, but a thouſand ideas enter into Satyr, that are as changeable and unſteady as the mode or the humours of mankind.

Our three friends had paſſed away the whole morning among their Medals and *Latin* Poets. *Philander* told them it was now too late to enter on another Series, but if they would take up with ſuch a dinner as he could meet with at his Lodgings, he would afterwards lay the reſt of his Medals before them. *Cynthio* and *Eugenius* were both of them ſo well pleaſed with the novelty of the ſubject, that they would not refuſe the offer *Philander* made them.

DIALOGUE III.

——— *cauſa eſt diſcriminis hujus*
Conciſum Argentum in titulos facieſque minutas.
Juv. Sat. 14.

A PARALLEL between the Ancient and Modern MEDALS.

PHILANDER uſed every morning to take a walk in a neighbouring wood, that ſtood on the borders of the *Thames*. It was cut through by abundance of beautiful allies, which terminating on the water, looked like ſo many painted views in perſpective. The banks of the river and the thickneſs of the ſhades drew into them all the birds of the country, that at Sun-riſing filled the wood with ſuch a variety of notes, as made the prettieſt confuſion imaginable. I know in deſcriptions of this nature the ſcenes are generally ſuppoſed to grow out of the Author's imagination, and if they are not charming in all their parts, the Reader never imputes it to the want of ſun or ſoil, but to the Writer's barrenneſs of invention. It is *Cicero*'s obſervation on the Plane-tree, that makes ſo flouriſhing a figure in one of *Plato*'s Dialogues, that it did not draw its nouriſhment from the fountain that ran by it and watered its roots, but from the richneſs of the ſtyle that deſcribes it. For my own part, as I deſign only to fix the ſcene of the following Dialogue, I ſhall not endeavour to give it any other ornaments than thoſe which nature has beſtowed upon it.

Philander was here enjoying the cool of the morning, among the dews that lay on every thing about him, and that gave the air ſuch a freſhneſs as is not a little agreeable in the hot part of the year. He not been here long before he was joined by *Cynthio* and *Eugenius*. *Cynthio* immediately fell upon *Philander* for breaking his night's reſt. You have ſo filled my head, ſays he, with old Coins, that I have had nothing but figures and inſcriptions before my eyes. If I chanced to fall into a little ſlumber, it was immediately interrupted with the viſion of a *Caduceus* or a *Cornu-copiæ.* You will make me believe, ſays *Philander*, that you begin to be reconciled to Medals. They ſay it is a ſure ſign a man loves money, when he is uſed to find it in his dreams. There is certainly, ſays *Eugenius*, ſomething like Avarice in the ſtudy of Medals. The more a man knows of them, the more he deſires to know. There is one ſubject in particular that *Cynthio*, as well as my ſelf, has a mind to engage you in. We would fain know how the Ancient and Modern Medals differ from one another, and which of them deſerves the preference. You have a mind to engage me in a ſubject, ſays *Philander*, that is perhaps of a larger extent than you imagine. To examine it thoroughly, it would be neceſſary to take them in pieces, and to ſpeak of the difference that ſhews it ſelf in their Metals, in the Occaſion of ſtamping them, in the Inſcriptions, and in the Figures that adorn them. Since you have divided your ſubject, ſays *Cynthio*, be ſo kind as to enter on it without any further preface.

We ſhould firſt of all, ſays *Philander*, conſider the difference of the Metals that we find in ancient and modern Coins, but as this ſpeculation is more curious than improving, I believe you will excuſe me if I do not dwell long upon it. One may underſtand all the learned part of this ſcience, without knowing whether there were Coins of iron or lead among the old *Romans*, and if a man is well acquainted with the Device of a Medal, I do not ſee what neceſſity there is of being able to tell whether the Medal it ſelf be of copper or *Corinthian* braſs. There is however ſo great a difference between the antique and modern Medals, that I have ſeen an Antiquary lick an old Coin, among other tryals, to diſtinguiſh the age of it by its Taſte. I remember when I laught at him for it, he told me with a great deal of vehemence, there was as much difference between the reliſh of ancient and modern braſs, as between an apple and a turnep. It is pity, ſays *Engenius*, but they found out the Smell too of an ancient Medal. They would then be able to judge of it by all the ſenſes. The Touch, I have heard, gives almoſt as good evidence as the Sight, and the Ringing of a Medal is, I know, a very common experiment. But I ſuppoſe this laſt proof you mention relates only to ſuch Coins as are made of your baſer ſorts of metal. And here, ſays *Philander*, we may obſerve the prudence of the Ancients above that of the Moderns, in the care they took to perpetuate the memory of great actions. They knew very well that ſilver and gold might fall into the hands of the covetous or ignorant, who would not reſpect them for the Device they bore, but for the Metal they were made of. Nor were their apprehenſions ill-founded; for it is not eaſily imagined how many of theſe noble monuments of hiſtory have periſhed in the goldſmiths hands, before they came to be collected together by the learned men of theſe two or three laſt Centuries. Inſcriptions, Victories, Buildings, and a thouſand other pieces of antiquity were melted down in thoſe barbarous Ages, that thought figures and letters only ſerved to ſpoil the gold that was charged with them. Your Medalliſts look on this deſtruction of Coins, as on the burning of the *Alexandrian* Library, and would be content to compound for them, with almoſt the loſs of a *Vatican*. To prevent this in ſome meaſure, the ancients placed the greateſt variety of their devices on their braſs and copper Coins, which are in no fear of falling into the clippers hands, nor in any danger of melting till the general conflagration. On the contrary, our modern Medals are moſt in ſilver or gold, and often in a very ſmall number of each. I have ſeen a golden one at *Vienna*, of *Philip* the ſecond, that weighed two and twenty pound, which is probably ſingular in its kind, and will not be able to keep it ſelf long out of the furnace when it leaves the Emperor's Treaſury. I remember another in the King of *Pruſſia*'s collection, that has in it three pound weight of gold. The Princes who ſtruck theſe

Medals, ſays *Eugenius*, ſeem to have deſigned them rather as an oſtentation of their Wealth, than of their Virtues. They fancied probably, it was a greater honour to appear in gold than in copper, and that a Medal receives all its value from the rarity of the metal. I think the next ſubject you propoſed to ſpeak of, were the different Occaſions that have given birth to ancient and modern Medals.

Before we enter on this particular, ſays *Philander*, I muſt tell you by way of preliminary, that formerly there was no difference between Money and Medals. An old *Roman* had his purſe full of the ſame pieces that we now preſerve in Cabinets. Aſſoon as an Emperor had done any thing remarkable, it was immediately ſtamped on a Coin, and became current through his whole Dominions. It was a pretty contrivance, ſays *Cynthio*, to ſpread abroad the virtues of an Emperor, and make his actions circulate. A freſh Coin was a kind of a *Gazette*, that publiſhed the lateſt news of the Empire. I ſhould fancy your *Roman* Bankers were very good Hiſtorians. It is certain, ſays *Eugenius*, they might find their profit and inſtruction mixed together. I have often wondered that no nation among the moderns has imitated the antient *Romans* in this particular. I know no other way of ſecuring theſe kinds of monuments, and making them numerous enough to be handed down to future ages. But where Stateſmen are ruled by a ſpirit of faction and intereſt, they can have no paſſion for the glory of their country, nor any concern for the figure it will make among poſterity. A man that talks of his nation's honour a thouſand years hence, is in very great danger of being laught at. We ſhall think, ſays *Cynthio*, you have a mind to fall out with the Government, becauſe it does not encourage Medals. But were all your ancient Coins that are now in Cabinets once current money? It is the moſt probable opinion, ſays *Philander*, that they were all of them ſuch, excepting thoſe we call Medalions. Theſe in reſpect of the other Coins were the ſame as modern Medals, in reſpect of modern money. They were exempted from all commerce, and had no other value but what was ſet upon them by the fancy of the owner. They are ſuppoſed to have been ſtruck by Emperors for preſents to their Friends, foreign Princes, or Ambaſſadors. However, that the ſmallneſs of their number might not endanger the loſs of the devices they bore, the *Romans* took care generally to ſtamp the ſubject of their Medalions on their ordinary Coins that were the running caſh of the nation. As if in *England* we ſhould ſee on our half-penny and farthing pieces, the ſeveral deſigns that ſhow themſelves in their perfection on our Medals.

If we now conſider, continued *Philander*, the different Occaſions or Subjects of ancient and modern Medals, we ſhall find they both agree in recording the great actions and ſucceſſes in war, allowing ſtill for the different ways of making it, and the circumſtances that attended it in paſt ages, and in the preſent. I ſhall inſtance one. I do not remember in any old Coin to have ſeen the taking of a town mentioned: as indeed there were few conquerors could ſignalize themſelves that way before the invention of powder and fortifications, a ſingle battle often deciding the fate of whole kingdoms. Our modern Medals give us ſeveral ſieges and plans of fortified towns, that ſhow themſelves in all their parts to a great advantage on the reverſe of a Coin. It is indeed, a kind of juſtice, ſays *Eugenius*, that a Prince owes to poſterity, after he has ruined or defaced a ſtrong place to deliver down to them a model of it as it ſtood whole and entire. The Coin repairs in ſome meaſure the miſchiefs of his Bombs and Cannons. In the next place, ſays *Philander*, we ſee both on the ancient and modern Medals the ſeveral noble pieces of Architecture that were finiſhed at the time when the Medals were ſtamped. I muſt obſerve however, to the honour of the latter, that they have repreſented their buildings according to the rules of perſpective. This I remember to have ſeen but in very few of the plans on ancient Coins, which makes them appear much leſs beautiful than the modern, eſpecially to a mathematical eye. Thus far our two ſetts of Medals agree as to their Subject. But old Coins go farther in their compliments to their Emperor, as they take occaſion to celebrate his diſtinguiſhing Virtues; not as they ſhowed themſelves in any particular action, but as they ſhone out in the general view of his character. This humour went ſo far, that we ſee *Nero*'s fidling, and *Commodus*'s skill in fencing, on ſeveral of their Medals. At preſent, you never meet with the King of *France*'s generoſity, nor the Emperor's devotion recorded after this manner. Again, the *Romans* uſed to regiſter the great actions of Peace that turned to the good of the people, as well as thoſe of War. The remiſſion of a

Debt, the taking off a Duty, the giving up a Tax, the mending a Port, or the making a Highway, were not looked upon as improper ſubjects for a Coin. They were glad of any opportunity to encourage their Emperors in the humour of doing good, and knew very well, that many of theſe acts of beneficence had a wider and more laſting influence on the happineſs and welfare of a people, than the gaining a Victory, or the Conqueſt of a nation. In *England* perhaps it would have looked a little odd to have ſtamped a Medal on the aboliſhing of Chimney-money in the laſt Reign, or on the giving a hundred thouſand pound a year towards the carrying on a war, in this. I find, ſays *Eugenius*, had we ſtruck in with the practice of the ancient *Romans*, we ſhould have had Medals on the fitting up our ſeveral Docks, on the making of our Rivers navigable, on the building our men of War, and the like ſubjects, that have certainly very well deſerved them. The reaſon why it has been neglected, ſays *Philander*, may poſſibly be this. Our Princes have the coining of their own Medals, and perhaps may think it would look like vanity to erect ſo many Trophies and Monuments of praiſe to their own merit; whereas among the ancient *Romans*, the Senate had ſtill a watchful eye on their Emperor, and if they found any thing in his life and actions that might furniſh out a Medal, they did not fail of making him ſo acceptable an offering. 'Tis true, their flatteries betray often ſuch a baſeneſs of ſpirit, as one would little expect to find among ſuch an order of men. And here by the way we may obſerve, that you never find any thing like Satyr or Raillery on old Coins.

Whatever victories were got on foreign enemies, or the ſeveral pretenders to the Empire obtained over one another, they are recorded on Coins without the leaſt bitterneſs or reflection. The Emperors often jeſted on their rivals or predeceſſors, but their Mints ſtill maintained their gravity. They might publiſh invectives againſt one another in their diſcourſes or writings, but never on their Coins. Had we no other hiſtories of the *Roman* Emperors, but thoſe we find on their money, we ſhould take them for the moſt virtuous race of Princes that mankind were ever bleſſed with: whereas, if we look into their lives, they appear many of them ſuch monſters of luſt and cruelty, as are almoſt a reproach to human nature. Medals are therefore ſo many compliments to an Emperor, that aſcribe to him all the Virtues and Victories he himſelf pretended to. Were you to take from hence all your informations, you would fancy *Claudius* as great a Conqueror as *Julius Cæſar*, and *Domitian* a wiſer Prince than his brother *Titus*. *Tiberius* on his Coins is all Mercy and Moderation, *Caligula* and *Nero* are Fathers of their Country, *Galba* the patron of public Liberty, and *Vitellius* the reſtorer of the city of *Rome*. In ſhort, if you have a mind to ſee the religious *Commodus*, the pious *Caracalla*, and the devout *Heliogabalus*, you may find them either in the inſcription or device of their Medals. On the contrary, thoſe of a modern make are often charged with Irony and Satyr. Our Kings no ſooner fall out, but their mints make war upon one another, and their malice appears on their Medals. One meets ſometimes with very nice touches of Raillery, but as we have no inſtance of it among the ancient Coins, I ſhall leave you to determine, whether or no it ought to find a place there. I muſt confeſs, ſays *Cynthio*, I believe we are generally in the wrong, when we deviate from the ancients: becauſe their practice is for the moſt part grounded upon reaſon. But if our fore-fathers have thought fit to be grave and ſerious, I hope their poſterity may laugh without offence. For my part, I cannot but look on this kind of Raillery as a refinement on Medals: and do not ſee why there may not be ſome for diverſion, at the ſame time that there are others of a more ſolemn and majeſtic nature, as a Victory may be celebrated in an Epigram as well as in an Heroic Poem. Had the ancients given place to Raillery on any of their Coins, I queſtion not but they would have been the moſt valued parts of a collection. Beſides the entertainment we ſhould have found in them, they would have ſhown us the different ſtate of Wit, as it flouriſhed or decayed in the ſeveral ages of the *Roman* Empire. There is no doubt, ſays *Philander*, but our fore-fathers, if they had pleaſed, could have been as witty as their poſterity. But I am of opinion, they induſtriouſly avoided it on their Coins, that they might not give us occaſion to ſuſpect their ſincerity. Had they run into mirth or ſatyr we ſhould not have thought they had deſigned ſo much to inſtruct as to divert us. I have heard, ſays *Eugenius*, that the *Romans* ſtamped ſeveral Coins on the ſame occaſion. If we follow their example, there will be no danger of deceiving poſterity: ſince the more ſerious ſort of Medals may ſerve as Comments on thoſe of a lighter character. However it is, the raillery of the Moderns cannot be worſe than the flattery of the Ancients. But hitherto you have only mentioned ſuch Coins as were made on the Emperor, I have ſeen ſeveral of our own time that have been made as a compliment to private perſons. There are pieces of money, ſays *Philander*, that during the time of the *Roman* Emperors, were coined in honour of the Senate, Army or People. I do not remember to have ſeen in the upper Empire the face of any private perſon that was not ſome way related to the Imperial family. *Sejanus* has indeed his Conſulſhip mentioned on a Coin of *Tiberius*, as he has the honour to give a name to the year in which our Saviour was crucified. We are now come to the Legend or Inſcription of our Medals, which as it is one of the more eſſential parts of them, it may deſerve to be examined more at length. You have choſen a very ſhort Text to enlarge upon, ſays *Cynthio*: I ſhould as ſoon expect to ſee a Critique on the Poſie of a Ring, as on the Inſcription of a Medal.

I have ſeen ſeveral modern Coins, ſays *Philander*, that have had part of the Legend running round the edges, like the *Decus et Tutamen* in our milled money; ſo that a few years will probably wear out the action that the Coin was deſigned to perpetuate. The ancients were too wiſe to regiſter their exploits on ſo nice a ſurface. I ſhould fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the moderns may have choſen this part of the Medal for the inſcription, that the figures on each ſide might appear to a greater advantage. I have obſerved in ſeveral old Coins a kind of confuſion between

the

the legend and the device. The figures and letters were ſo mingled together, that one would think the Coiner was hard put to it on what part of the money to beſtow the ſeveral words of his inſcription. You have found out ſomething like an excuſe, ſays *Philander*, for your milled Medals, if they carried the whole legend on their edges. But at the ſame time that they are lettered on the edges, they have other inſcriptions on the face and the reverſe. Your modern Deſigners cannot contract the occaſion of the Medal into an inſcription that is proper to the Volume they write upon: ſo that having ſcribbled over both ſides, they are forced, as it were, to write upon the margin. The firſt fault therefore that I ſhall find with a modern legend, is its Diffuſiveneſs. You have ſometimes the whole ſide of a Medal over-run with it. One would fancy the Author had a deſign of being *Ciceronian* in his *Latin*, and of making a round period. I will give you only the reverſe of a Coin ſtampt by the preſent Emperor of *Germany*, on the raiſing of the ſiege of *Vienna.* VIenna aVstrIæ $\frac{4}{14}$ IVLII ab aChMete II. obsessa $\frac{2}{12}$ sept. eX Insperato ab eo Deserta est. I ſhould take this, ſays *Cynthio*, for the paragraph of a *Gazette*, rather than the inſcription of a Medal. I remember you repreſented your ancient Coins as abridgements of hiſtory; but your modern, if there are many of them like this, ſhould themſelves be epitomized. Compare with this, ſays *Philander*, the brevity and comprehenſiveneſs of thoſe legends that appear on ancient Coins.

Salus Generis humani. Tellus ſtabilita. Gloria Orbis Terræ. Pacator Orbis. Reſtitutor Orbis Terrarum. Gaudium Reipublicæ. Hilaritas populi Romani. Bono Reipub. nati. Roma renaſcens. Libertas reſtituta. Sæculum Aureum. Puellæ Fauſtinianæ. Rex Parthis datus. Victoria Germanica. Fides Mutua. Aſia Subacta. Judæa capta. Amor mutuus. Genetrix orbis. Sideribus recepta. Genio Senatûs. Fides exercitûs. Providentia Senatûs. Reſtitutori Hiſpaniæ. Adventui Aug. Britanniæ. Regna Adſignata. Adlocutio. Diſcipulina Auguſti. Felicitas publica. Rex Armenis datus.

What a majeſty and force does one meet with in theſe ſhort Inſcriptions! Are not you amazed to ſee ſo much hiſtory gathered into ſo ſmall a compaſs? You have often the ſubject of a Volume in a couple of words.

If our modern Medals are ſo very prolix in their proſe, they are every whit as tedious in their verſe. You have ſometimes a dull Epigram of four lines. This, ſays *Cynthio*, may be of great uſe to immortalize Punns and Quibbles, and to let poſterity ſee their forefathers were a parcel of blockheads. A Coin, I find, may be of great uſe to a bad Poet. If he cannot become immortal by the goodneſs of his verſe, he may by the durableneſs of the Metal that ſupports it. I ſhall give you an inſtance, ſays *Philander*, from a Medal of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, that will ſtand as an eternal monument of Dullneſs and Bravery.

Miles ego Chriſti, Chriſto duce ſterno tyrannos,
Hæreticos ſimul et calco meis pedibus.

Parcere Chriſticolis me, debellare feroces
Papicolas Chriſtus dux meus en animat.

It is well, ſays *Cynthio*, you tell us this is a Medal of the Great *Guſtavus:* I ſhould have taken it for ſome one of his *Gothic* Predeceſſors. Does it not bring into your mind *Alexander* the Great's being accompanied with a *Chærilus* in his *Perſian* expedition? If you are offended at the homelineſs of this Inſcription, ſays *Philander*, what would you think of ſuch as have neither ſenſe nor grammar in them? I aſſure you I have ſeen the face of many a great Monarch hemmed in with falſe *Latin.* But it is not only the ſtupidity and tedіouſneſs of theſe Inſcriptions that I find fault with; ſuppoſing them of a moderate length and proper ſenſe, why muſt they be in verſe? We ſhould be ſurprized to ſee the title of a ſerious book in rhime, yet it is every whit as ridiculous to give the ſubject of a Medal in a piece of an Hexameter. This however is the practice of our modern Medalliſts. If you look into the ancient Inſcriptions, you ſee an air of ſimplicity in the words, but a great magnificence in the thought; on the contrary, in your modern Medals you have generally a trifling thought wrapt up in the beginning or end of an Heroic verſe. Where the ſenſe of an Inſcription is low, it is not in the power of *Dactyls* and *Spondees* to raiſe it; where it is noble, it has no need of ſuch affected ornaments. I remember a Medal of *Philip* the ſecond, on *Charles le Quint*'s reſigning to him the Kingdom of *Spain*, with this Inſcription, *Ut Quieſcat Atlas.* The Device is a *Hercules* with the Sphere on his ſhoulders. Notwithſtanding the thought is poetical, I dare ſay you would think the beauty of the Inſcription very much loſt, had it been —— *requieſcat ut Atlas.* To inſtance a Medal of our own nation. After the concluſion of the peace with *Holland*, there was one ſtampt with the following Legend —— *Redeant Commercia Flandris.* The thought is here great enough, but in my opinion it would have looked much greater in two or three words of proſe. I think truly, ſays *Eugenius*, it is ridiculous enough to make the Inſcription run like a piece of a verſe, when it is not taken out of an old Author. But I would fain have your opinion on ſuch Inſcriptions as are borrowed from the *Latin* Poets. I have ſeen ſeveral of this ſort that have been very prettily applied, and I fancy when they are choſen with art, they ſhould not be thought unworthy of a place in your Medals.

Which ever ſide I take, ſays *Philander*, I am like to have a great party againſt me. Thoſe who have formed their reliſh on old Coins, will by no means allow of ſuch an innovation; on the contrary, your men of wit will be apt to look on it as an improvement on ancient Medals. You will oblige us however to let us know what kind of rules you would have obſerved in the choice of your quotations, ſince you ſeem to lay a ſtreſs on their being choſen with Art. You muſt know then, ſays *Eugenius*, I do not think it enough that a quotation tells us plain matter of fact, unleſs it has ſome other accidental ornaments to ſet it off. Indeed if a great action that ſeldom happens in the courſe of human affairs, is exactly deſcribed in the paſſage of an old Poet, it gives the Reader a very agreeable ſurprize, and may therefore deſerve a place on a Medal.

Again, if there is more than a ſingle circumſtance of the action ſpecified in the quotation, it pleaſes a man to ſee an old exploit copied out as it were by a Modern, and running parallel with it in ſeveral of its particulars.

In the next place, when the quotation is not only apt, but has in it a turn of Wit or Satyr, it is ſtill the better qualified for a Medal, as it has a double capacity of pleaſing.

But there is no Inſcription fitter for a Medal, in my opinion, than a quotation that beſides its aptneſs has ſomething in it lofty and ſublime: for ſuch an one ſtrikes in with the natural greatneſs of the ſoul, and produces a high idea of the perſon or action it celebrates, which is one of the principal deſigns of a Medal.

It is certainly very pleaſant, ſays *Eugenius*, to ſee a verſe of an old Poet, revolting as it were from its original ſenſe, and ſiding with a modern ſubject. But then it ought to do it willingly of its own accord, without being forced to it by any change in the words, or the punctuation: for when this happens, it is no longer the verſe of an ancient Poet, but of him that has converted it to his own uſe.

You have, I believe, by this time exhauſted your ſubject, ſays *Philander*; and I think the criticiſms you have made on the poetical quotations that we ſo often meet with in our modern Medals, may be very well applied to the Mottos of books, and other Inſcriptions of the ſame nature. But before we quit the Legends of Medals, I cannot but take notice of a kind of wit that flouriſhes very much on many of the modern, eſpecially thoſe of *Germany*, when they repreſent in the Inſcription the year in which they were coined. As to mention to you another of *Guſtavus Adolphus*. ChrIstVs DVX ergo trIVMphVs. If you take the pains to pick out the figures from the ſeveral words, and range them in their proper order, you will find they amount to 1627, the year in which the Medal was coined; for do not you obſerve ſome of the letters diſtinguiſh themſelves from the reſt, and top it over their fellows? theſe you muſt conſider in a double capacity, as letters and as cyphers. Your laborious *German* Wits will turn you over a whole Dictionary for one of theſe ingenious Devices. You would fancy perhaps they were ſearching after an apt claſſical term, but inſtead of that, they are looking out a word that has an L. an M. or a D. in it. When therefore you ſee any of theſe Inſcriptions, you are not ſo much to look in them for the thought, as for the year of the Lord. There are foreign Univerſities where this kind of wit is ſo much in vogue, that as you praiſe a man in *England* for being an excellent Philoſopher or Poet, it is an ordinary character among them to be a great Chronogrammatiſt. Theſe are probably, ſays *Cynthio*, ſome of thoſe mild provinces of Acroſtic land, that Mr. *Dryden* has aſſigned to his Anagrams, Wings and Altars. We have now done, I ſuppoſe, with the Legend of a Medal. I think you promiſed us in the next place to ſpeak of the Figures.

As we had a great deal of talk on this part of a Coin, replied *Philander*, in our diſcourſe on the Uſefulneſs of ancient Medals, I ſhall only juſt touch on the chief heads wherein the Ancient and the Modern differ. In the firſt place, the *Romans* always appear in the proper Dreſs of their country, inſomuch that you ſee the little variations of the Mode in the drapery of the Medal. They would have thought it ridiculous to have drawn an Emperor of *Rome* in a *Grecian* Cloak or a *Phrygian* Mitre. On the contrary, our modern Medals are full of *Toga's* and *Tunica's*, *Trabea's* and *Paludamentums*, with a multitude of the like antiquated garments, that have not been in faſhion theſe thouſand years. You ſee very often a King of *England* or *France* dreſſed up like a *Julius Cæſar*. One would think they had a mind to paſs themſelves upon poſterity for *Roman* Emperors. The ſame obſervation may run through ſeveral cuſtoms and religions, that appear in our ancient and modern Coins. Nothing is more uſual than to ſee Alluſions to *Roman* cuſtoms and ceremonies on the Medals of our own nation. Nay very often they carry the figure of a heathen god. If poſterity takes its notions of us from our Medals, they muſt fancy one of our Kings paid a great devotion to *Minerva*, that another was a profeſſed Worſhipper of *Apollo*, or at beſt that our whole religion was a mixture of Paganiſm and Chriſtianity. Had the old *Romans* been guilty of the ſame extravagance, there would have been ſo great a confuſion in their Antiquities, that their Coins would not have had half the uſes we now find in them. We ought to look on Medals as ſo many monuments conſigned over to Eternity, that may poſſibly laſt when all other memorials of the ſame

Age are worn out or loſt. They are a kind of Preſent that thoſe who are actually in Being make over to ſuch as lie hid within the depths of Futurity. Were they only deſigned to inſtruct the three or four ſucceeding generations, they are in no great danger of being miſunderſtood: but as they may paſs into the hands of a poſterity, that lie many removes from us, and are like to act their part in the world, when its governments, manners and religions may be quite altered; we ought to take a particular care not to make any falſe reports in them, or to charge them with any Devices that may look doubtful or unintelligible.

I have lately ſeen, ſays *Eugenius*, a Medallic hiſtory of the preſent King of *France*. One might expect, methinks, to ſee the Medals of that nation in the higheſt perfection, when there is a ſociety penſioned and ſet apart on purpoſe for the deſigning of them.

We will examine them, if you pleaſe, ſays *Philander*, in the light that our foregoing obſervations have ſet them: but on this condition that you do not look on the faults I find in them any more than my own private opinion. In the firſt place then, I think it is impoſſible to learn from the *French* Medals either the religion, cuſtom, or habits of the *French* nation. You ſee on ſome of them the Croſs of our Saviour, and on others *Hercules*' his Club. In one you have an Angel, and in another a *Mercury*. I fancy, ſays *Cynthio*, poſterity would be as much puzzled on the religion of *Louis le Grand*, were they to learn it from his Medals, as we are at preſent on that of *Conſtantine* the Great. It is certain, ſays *Philander*, there is the ſame mixture of Chriſtian and

Pagan in their Coins; nor is there a leſs confuſion in their cuſtoms. For example, what relation is there between the figure of a Bull, and the planting of a *French* colony in *America*? The *Romans* made uſe of this type in alluſion to one of their own cuſtoms at the ſending out of a colony. But for the *French*, a Ram, a Hog, or an Elephant, would have been every whit as ſignificant an emblem. Then can any thing be more unnatural than to ſee a King of *France* dreſſed like an Emperor of *Rome*, with his arms ſtripped up to the elbows, a Laurel on his head, and a *Chlamys* over his ſhoulders? I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the ſociety of Medalliſts would give you their reaſons for what they have done. You your ſelf allow the Legend to be *Latin*, and why may not the cuſtoms and ornaments be of the ſame country as the language? eſpecially ſince they are all of them ſo univerſally underſtood by the learned. I own to you, ſays *Philander*, if they only deſign to deliver down to poſterity the ſeveral parts of their Great Monarch's hiſtory, it is no matter for the other circumſtances of a Medal; but I fancy it would be as great a pleaſure and inſtruction for future ages, to ſee the Dreſſes and Cuſtoms of their anceſtors, as their Buildings and Victories. Beſides, I do not think they have always choſen a proper Occaſion for a Medal. There is one ſtruck, for example, on the *Engliſh* failing in their attempts on *Dunkirk*: when in the laſt reign they endeavoured to blow up a Fort, and bombard the town. What have the *French* here done to boaſt of? A Medal however you have with this inſcription, DVNKIRKA ILLÆSA. Not to cavil at the two K's in *Dunkirka*,

Dunkirka, or the impropriety of the word *Illæſa*, the whole Medal, in my opinion, tends not ſo much to the honour of the *French* as of the *Engliſh*,

————————quos opimus
Fallere et effugere eſt triumphus.

I could mention a few other faults, or at leaſt what I take for ſuch. But at ſame time muſt be forced to allow, that this Series of Medals is the moſt perfect of any among the moderns in the beauty of the Work, the aptneſs of the Device, and the propriety of the Legend. In theſe and other particulars, the *French* Medals come nearer the ancients than thoſe of any other country, as indeed it is to this nation we are indebted for the beſt lights that have been given to the whole ſcience in general.

I muſt not here forget to mention the Medallic hiſtory of the Popes, where there are many Coins of an excellent workmanſhip, as I think they have none of thoſe faults that I have ſpoken of in the preceding ſett. They are always *Roman*-Catholic in the Device and in the Legend, which are both of them many times taken out of the holy Scriptures, and therefore not unſuitable to the character of the Prince they repreſent. Thus when *Innocent* XI. lay under terrible apprehenſions of the *French* King, he put out a Coin, that on the reverſe of it had a ſhip toſſed on the waves to repreſent the Church. Before it, was the figure of our Saviour walking on the waters, and St. *Peter* ready to ſink at his feet. The inſcription, if I remember, was in *Latin. Help*

Lord, or elſe I periſh. This puts me in mind, ſays *Cynthio*, of a Paſquinade, that at the ſame time was fixed up at *Rome. Ad Galli cantum Petrus flet.* But methinks, under this head of the figures on ancient and modern Coins, we might expect to hear your opinion on the difference that appears in the Workmanſhip of each. You muſt know then, ſays *Philander*, that till about the end of the third Century, when there was a general decay in all the arts of deſigning, I do not remember to have ſeen the head of a *Roman* Emperor drawn with a full face. They always appear in *profil*, to uſe a *French* term of art, which gives us the view of a head, that, in my opinion, has ſomething in it very majeſtic, and at the ſame time ſuits beſt with the dimenſions of a Medal. Beſides that it ſhows the noſe and eyebrows, with the ſeveral prominencies and fallings in of the features, much more diſtinctly than any other kind of figure. In the lower Empire you have abundance of broad *Gothic* faces, like ſo many full Moons on the ſide of a Coin. Among the moderns too, we have of both ſorts, though the fineſt are made after the antique. In the next place, you find the figures of many ancient Coins riſing up in a much more beautiful *relief* than thoſe on the modern. This too is a beauty that fell with the grandeur of the *Roman* Emperors, ſo that you ſee the face ſinking by degrees in the ſeveral declenſions of the Empire, till about *Conſtantine*'s time it lies almoſt even with the ſurface of the Medal. After this it appears ſo very plain and uniform, that one would think the Coiner look'd on the flatneſs of a figure as one of the greateſt beauties in Sculpture. I fancy, ſays *Eugenius*, the Sculptors of that age had the ſame reliſh as a *Greek* Prieſt that was buying ſome religious pictures at *Venice.* Among others he was ſhown a noble piece of *Titian.* The Prieſt having well ſurvey'd it, was very much ſcandalized at the extravagance of the *relief*, as he termed it. You know, ſays he, our religion forbids all idolatry: We admit of no Images but ſuch as are drawn on a ſmooth ſurface: The figure you have here ſhown me, ſtands ſo much out to the eye, that I would no ſooner ſuffer it in my Church than a Statue. I could recommend your *Greek* Prieſt, ſays *Philander*, to abundance of celebrated Painters on this ſide of the *Alps* that would not fail to pleaſe him. We muſt own however, that the figures on ſeveral of our modern Medals are raiſed and rounded to a very great perfection. But if you compare them in this particular with the moſt finiſhed among the ancients, your men of art declare univerſally for the latter.

Cynthio and *Eugenius*, though they were well pleaſed with *Philander*'s diſcourſe, were glad however to find it at an end: for the Sun began to gather ſtrength upon them, and had pierced the ſhelter of their walks in ſeveral places. *Philander* had no ſooner done talking, but he grew ſenſible of the heat himſelf, and immediately propoſed to his friends the retiring to his lodgings, and getting a thicker ſhade over their heads. They both of them very readily cloſed with the propoſal, and by that means give me an opportunity of finiſhing my Dialogue.

⁂

THREE SETTS OF

MEDALS

Illuſtrated by the

ANCIENT POETS,

In the foregoing DIALOGUES.

————*decipit*
Frons prima multos ; rara mens intelligit
Interiori condidit quæ cura angulo. Phædr.

Multa poetarum veniet manus, Auxilio quæ
Sit mihi ———— Hor.

Printed in the Year MDCCXXVI.

THE

FIRST SERIES.

The FIRST SERIES.

1. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverſe of *Domitian.*

2. HONOS ET VIRTVS. Reverſe of *Galba.*

3. CONCORDIA AVG. S.C. Reverſe of *Sabina.*

4. PAX ORBIS TERRARVM. Reverſe of *Otho.*

5. ABVNDANTIA AVG. S.C. Reverſe of *Gordianus Pius.*

6, 7. FIDES EXERCITVS. Reverſe of *Heliogabalus.*

8. SPES AVGVSTA. Reverſe of *Claudius.*

9. SECVRITAS PVBLICA. S.C. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*

10. PVDICITIA. S.C. Reverſe of *Fauſtina Junior.*

11. PIETAS AVG. S.C. Reverſe of *Fauſtina Senior.*

12. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverſe of *Vitellius.*

13. AETERNITAS. S.C. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*

14. SAECVLVM AVREVM. Reverſe of *Aarian.*

15. FELIX TEMPORVM REPARATIO. Reverſe of *Conſtantine.*

16. AETERNITAS AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*

17. AETERNITAS. S.C. Reverſe of *Antonine.*

18. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. Reverſe of *Nero.*

19. SARMATIA DEVICTA. A Victory. Reverſe of *Conſtantine.*

20. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. S.C. Reverſe of *Galba.*

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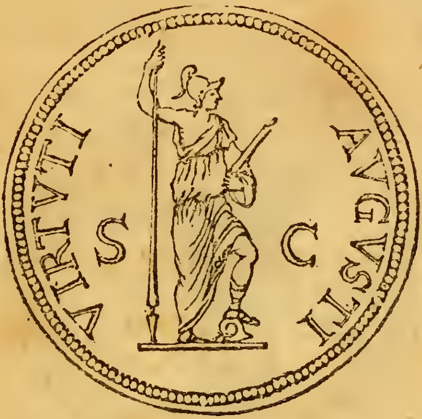
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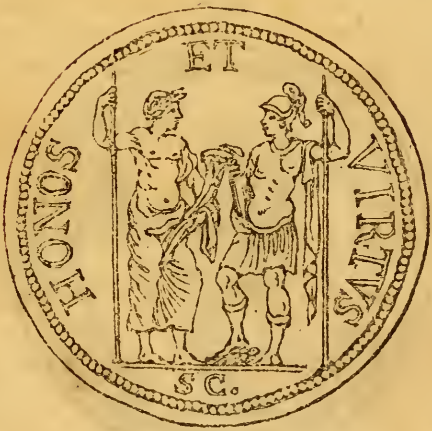
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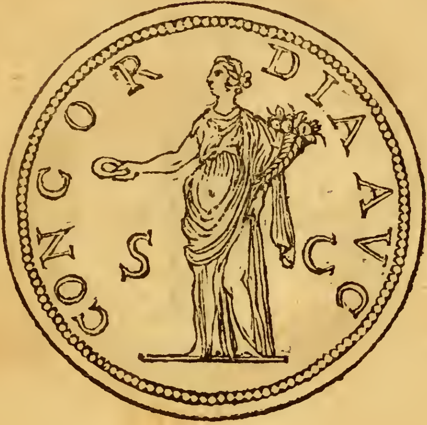
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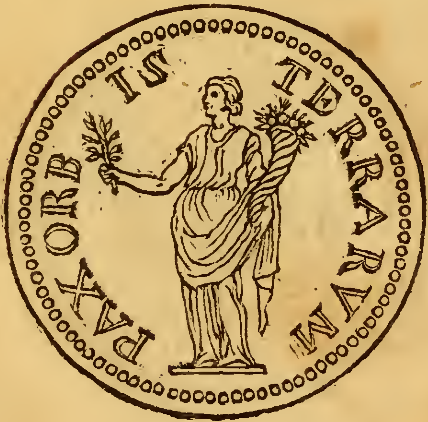
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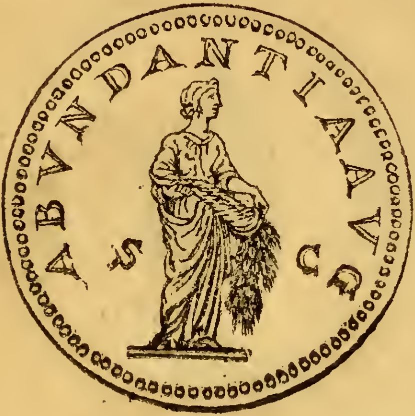
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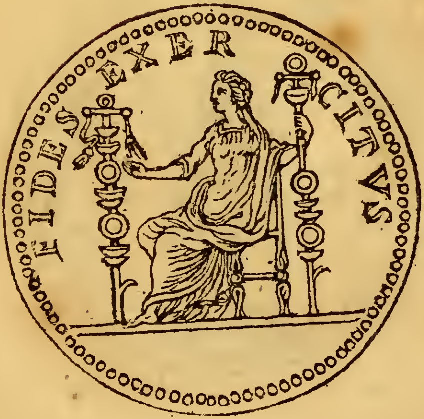
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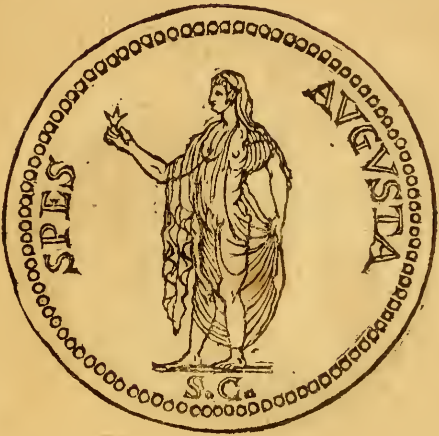
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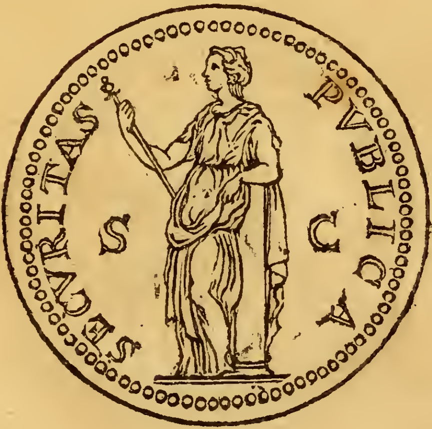
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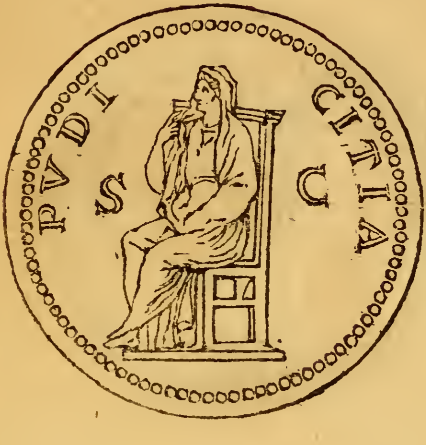
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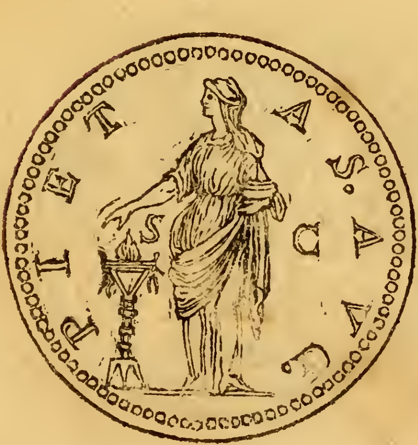
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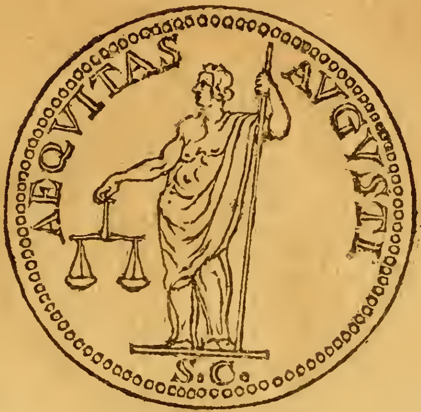
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S. C.

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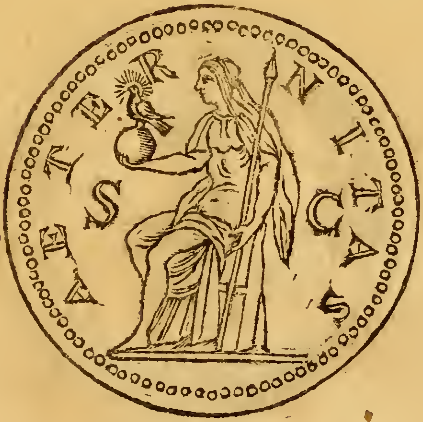
AETERNITAS
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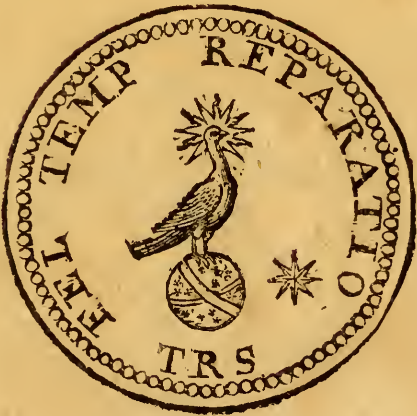
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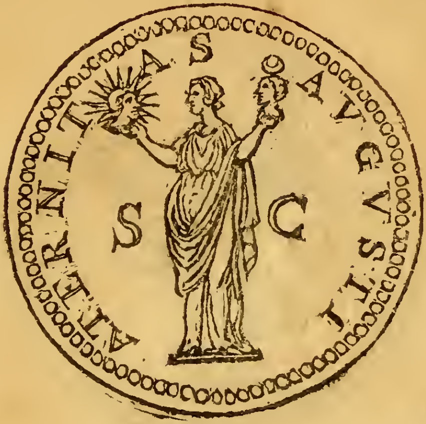
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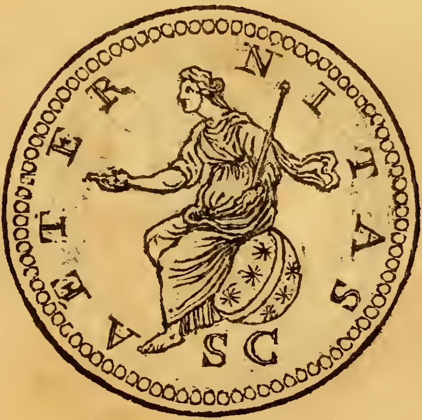
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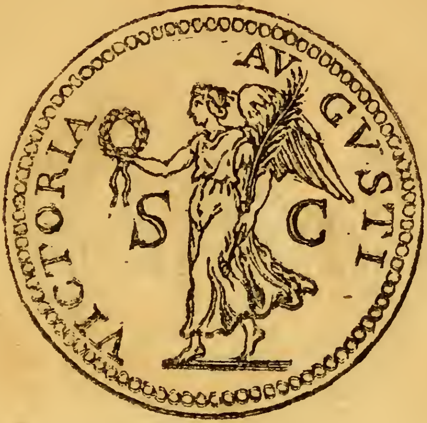
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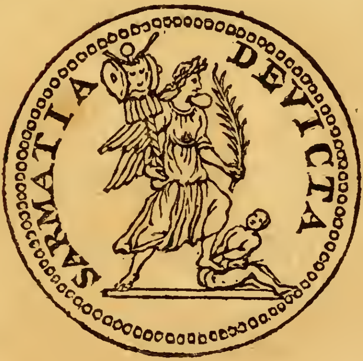
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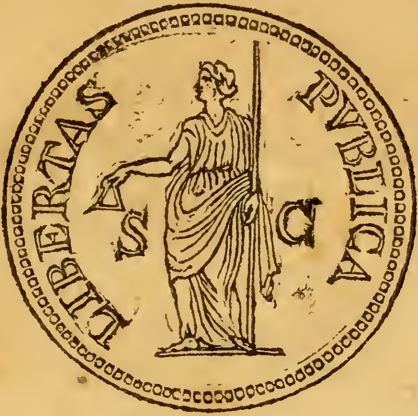
LIBERTAS PVBLICA
S C

THE

THE

SECOND SERIES.

The SECOND SERIES.

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2. PONTIF. MAX. TR. POT. PP. COS. II.
3. P. N. R. S. C. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
4. S. C. Reverſe of *Auguſtus.*
5. S. P. Q. R. P. P. OB. CIVES SERVATOS. Reverſe of *Caligula.*
6. Reverſe of *Tiberius.*
7. FIDES PVBLICA. Reverſe of *Titus.*
8. PRAETOR RECEPT. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
9. FECVNDITAS. S. C. Reverſe of *Julia Auguſta.*
10. NERO CLAV. CAESAR. IMP. ET OCTAVIA. AVGVST. F. Reverſe of *Claudius.*
11. ORIENS AVG. Reverſe of *Aurelian.*
12. Reverſe of *Commodus.*
13. GLORIA EXERCITVS, E. S. I. S. } Reverſe of
14. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. S. C. } *Conſtantine.*
15. M. CATO. L. VETTIACVS. II. VIR. LEG. IV. LEG. VI. LEG. X. C. C. A. Reverſe of *Tiberius.*
16. TR. P. VII. IMP. III. COS. V. P. P. S. C. Reverſe of *Trajan.*
17. TR. POT. V. IMP. III. COS. II. S. C. Reverſe of *Lucius Verus.*
18. PAX AVG. S. C. Reverſe of *Veſpaſian.*
19. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. S. C. DE GERMANIS —— — } Reverſe of *Marcus Aurelius.*
20. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. S. C. DE SARMATIS —— — }
21. Reverſe of *Trajan.*
22. TR. POT. XIIII. P. P. COS. II. Reverſe of *M. Aurelius.*
23. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. coin'd under *Tiberius.*
24. COS. IIII. S. C. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*

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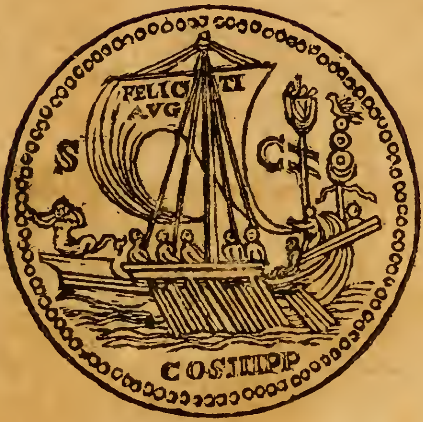
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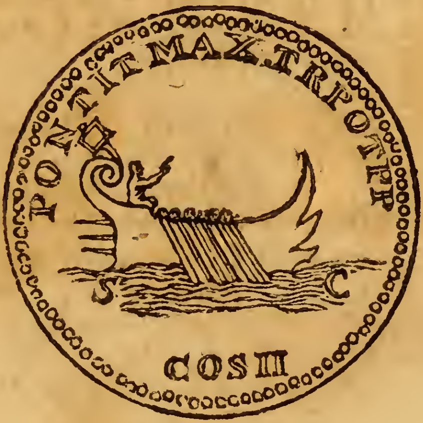
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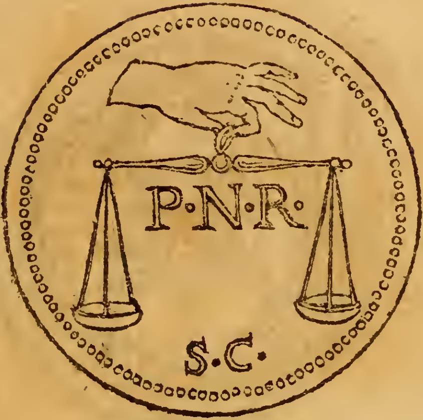

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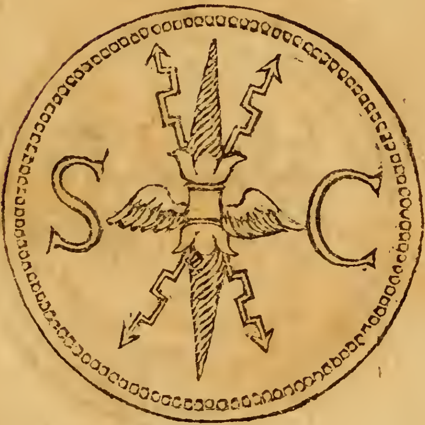

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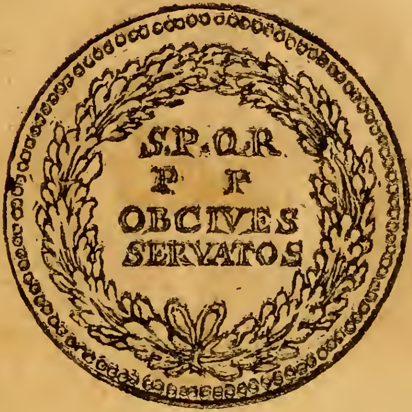
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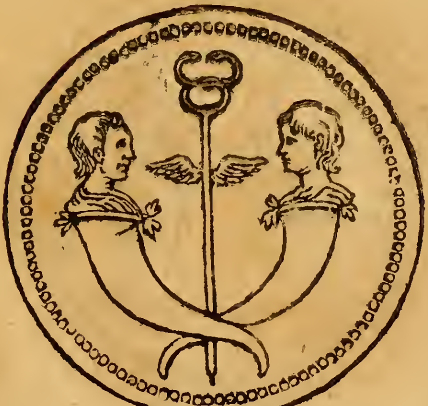

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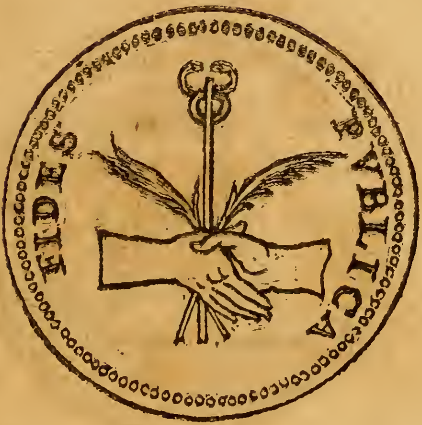
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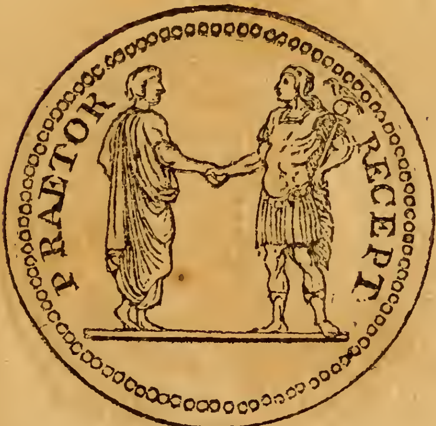
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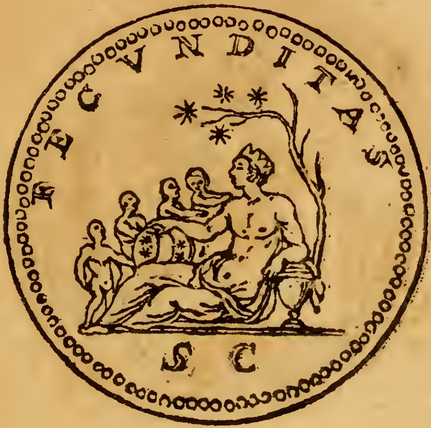
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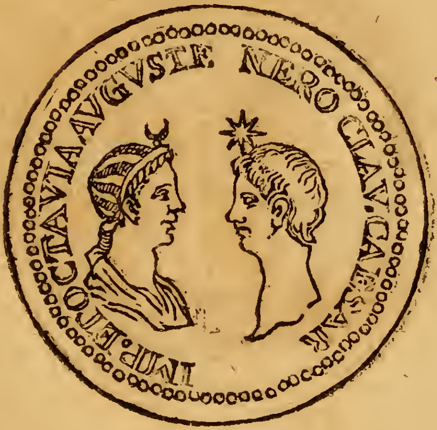
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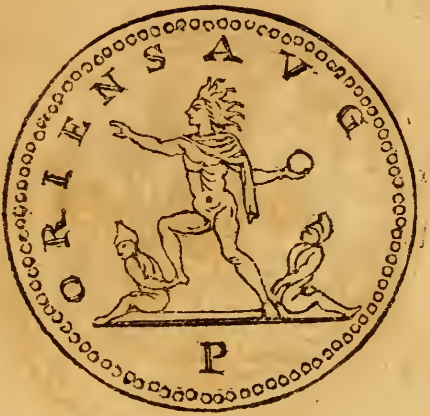
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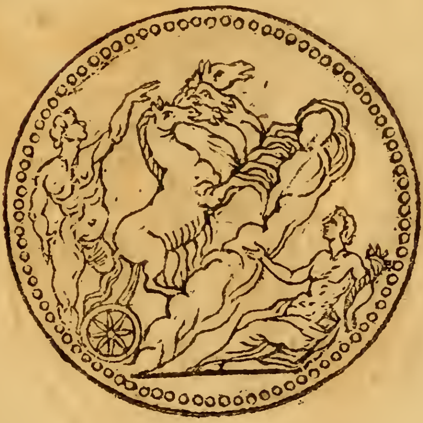

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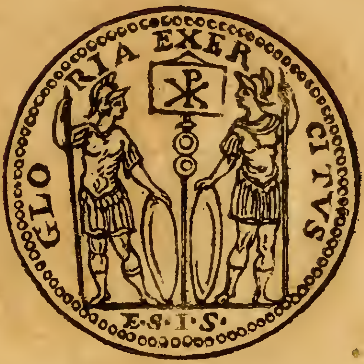
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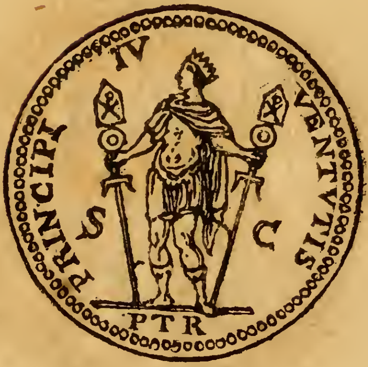
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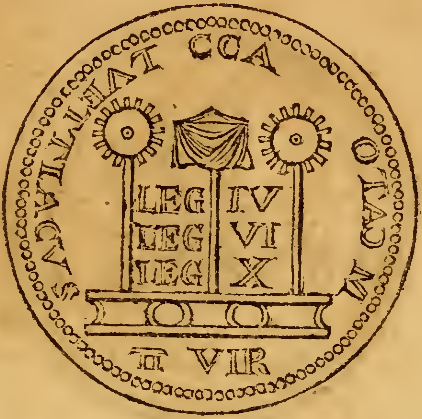
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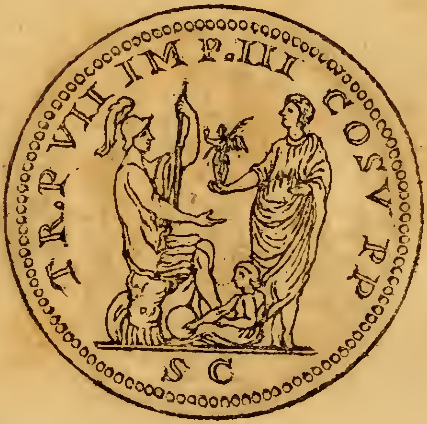
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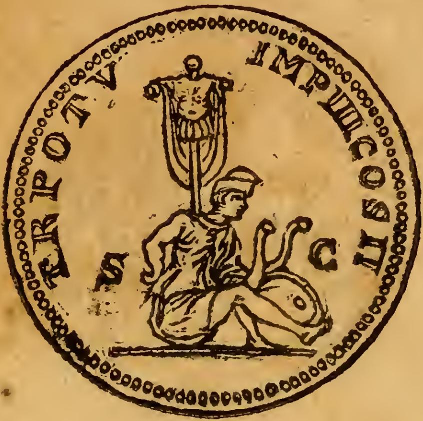
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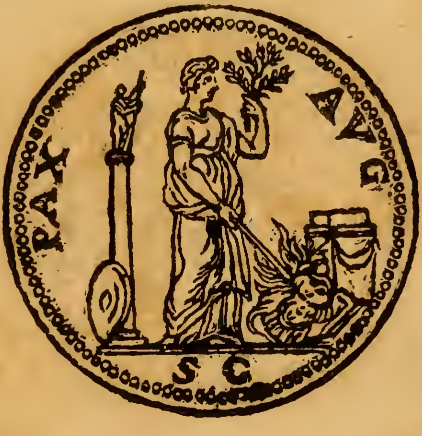

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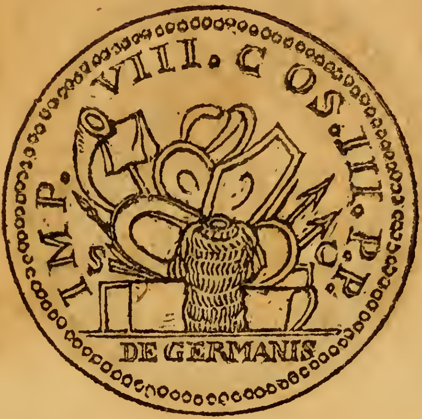
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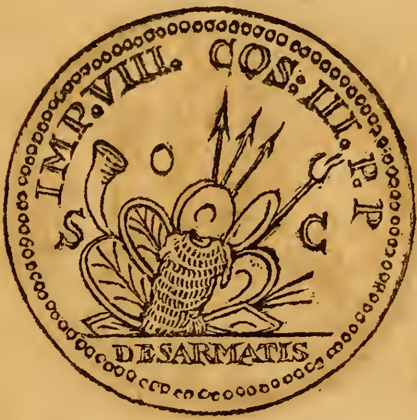
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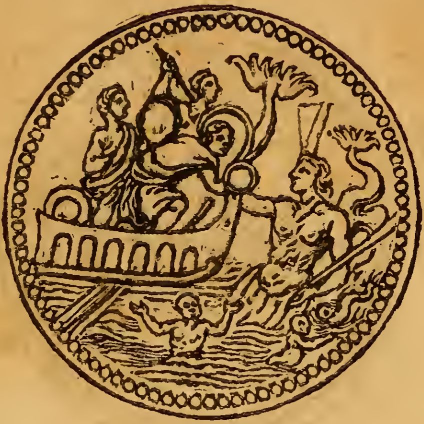

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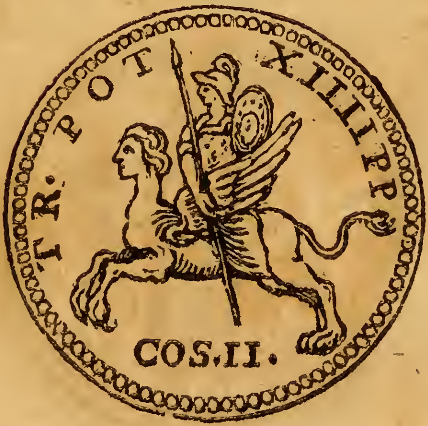
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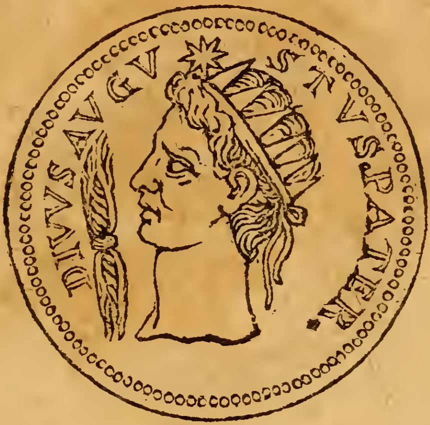
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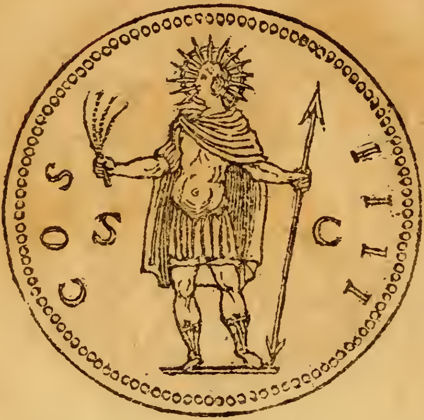

THE

THIRD SERIES.

The THIRD SERIES.

1. FELIX ADVENT. AVG. G. NN. PEN. Reverſe of *Diocleſian.*
2. AFRICA. S.C. Reverſe of *Septimius Severus.*
3. AFRICA. S.C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
4. AEGYPTOS. S C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
5. MAVRETANIA. S C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
6. HISPANIA. S.C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
7. ADVENTVI AVG. GALLIAE. S.C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
8. ITALIA. S.C. Reverſe of *Marcus Antoninus:*
9. ROMA, S.C. Reverſe of *Nero.*
10. RESTITVTORI ACHAIAE. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
11. BRITANNIA. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*
12. RESTITVTORI SICILIAE. S.C. Reverſe of *Adrian.*
13. IVDEA CAPTA. S.C. } Reverſe of
14. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. S.C. } *Veſpaſian.*
15. PARTHIA. S.C. COS.II. Reverſe of *Antoninus Pius.*
16. ANTIOCHIA.
17. ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΗΝΩΝΚ. CΜΥΡΝ. ΣΤΡ. Τ. ΦΑΒ. ΑΛ. ΑΠΟΛΛΙΝΑΡΙΟΥ. Reverſe of *Marcus Aurelius.*
18. ARAB. ADQ. S.P.Q.R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. S.C. Reverſe of *Trajan.*

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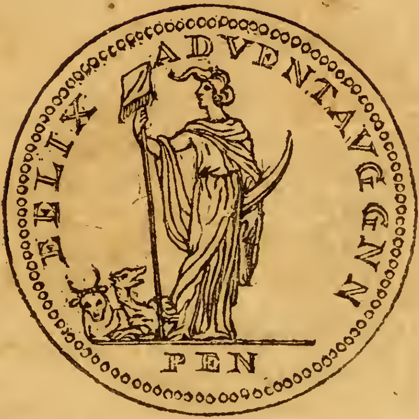
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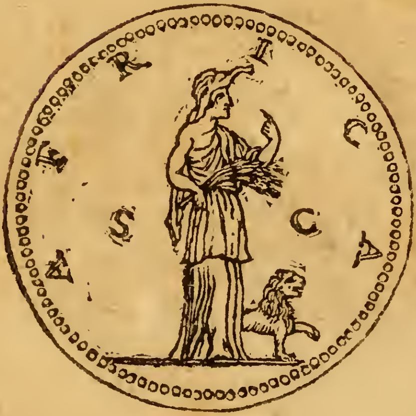

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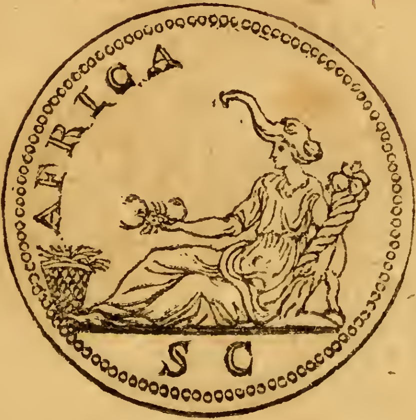

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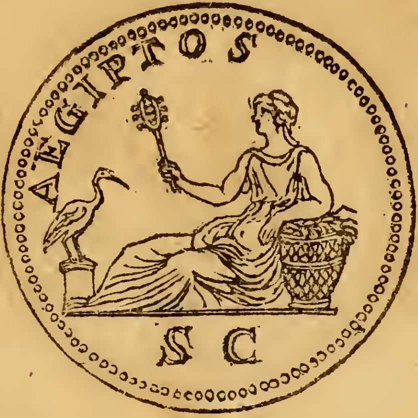
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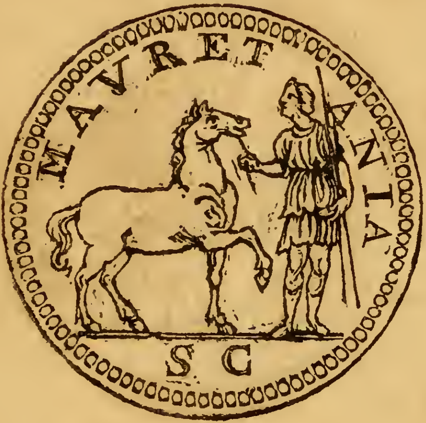
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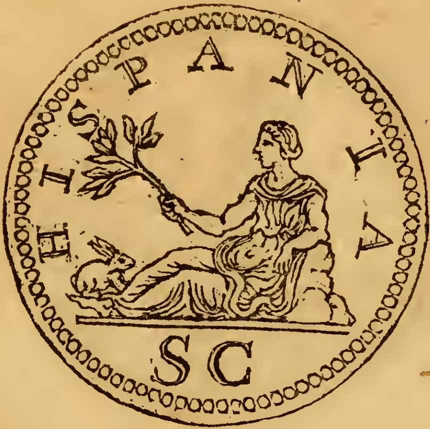
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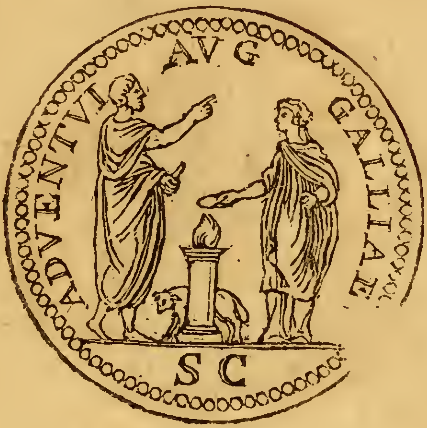
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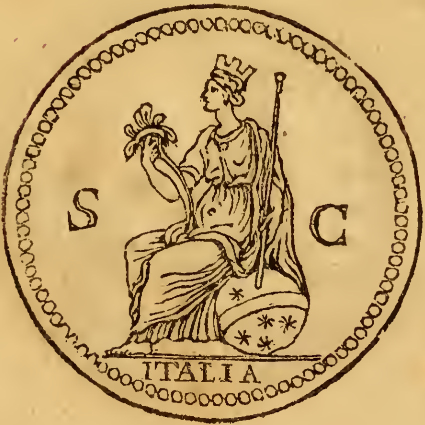

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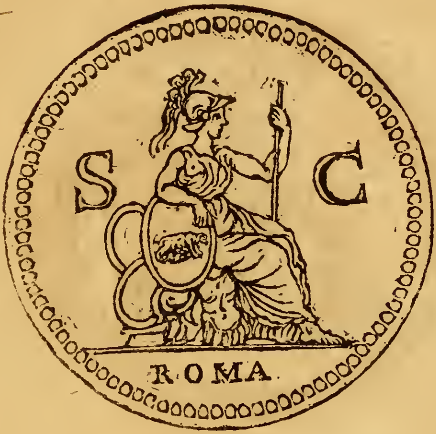

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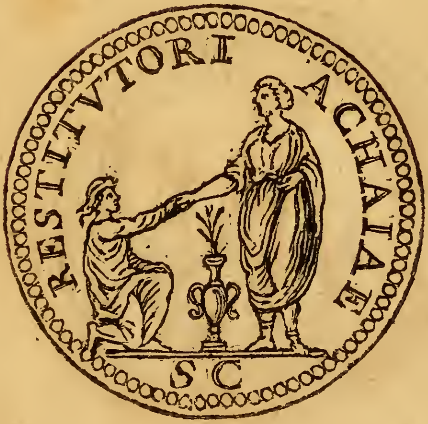
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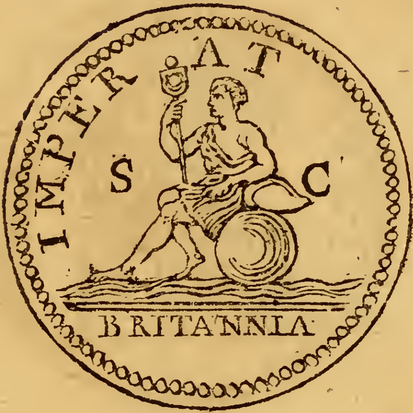
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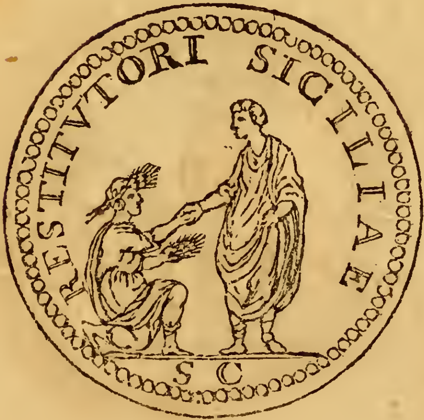
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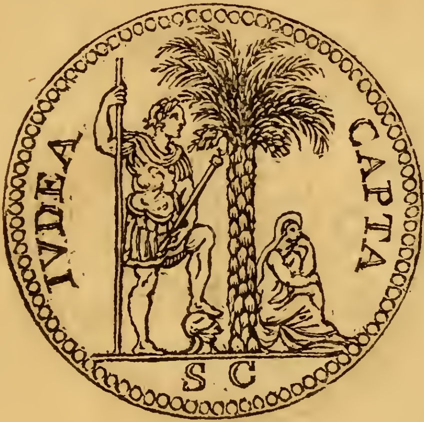
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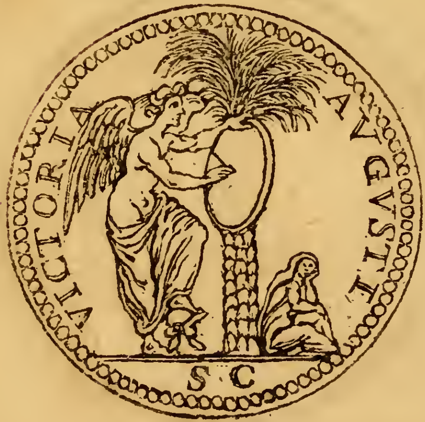
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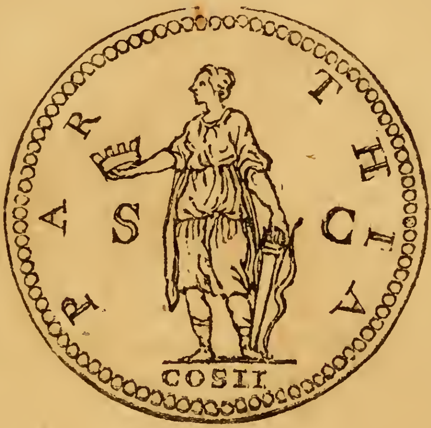
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COS II

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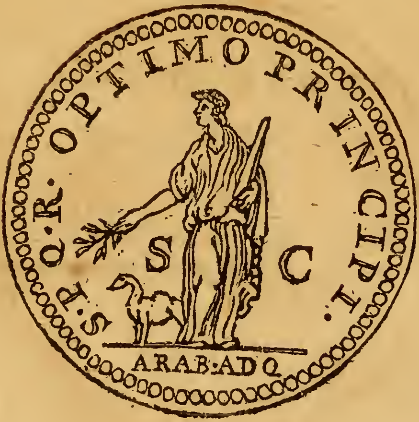
S·P·Q·R· OPTIMO PRINCIPI.
S C
ARAB·ADQ

THE PRESENT
STATE *of the* WAR,
AND THE
Neceſſity of an AUGMENTATION, *conſidered.*

PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Eſſay has endeavoured to draw into one continued ſcheme the whole ſtate of the preſent war, and the methods that appear to him the moſt proper for bringing it to a happy concluſion.

After having conſidered that the French *are the conſtant and moſt dangerous enemies to the* Britiſh *nation, and that the danger from them is now greater than ever, and will ſtill increaſe till their preſent Union with* Spain *be broken, he ſets forth the ſeveral advantages which this Union has already given* France, *and taken from* Great Britain, *in relation to the* Weſt-Indies, *the woollen manufacture, the trade of the* Levant, *and the naval power of the two nations.*

He ſhews how theſe advantages will ſtill riſe higher after a peace, notwithſtanding our preſent conqueſts, with new additions, ſhould be confirmed to us, as well becauſe the monarchy of Spain *would not be weakened by ſuch conceſſions, as becauſe no Guarantee could be found ſufficient to ſecure them to us. For which reaſons he lays it down as a fixt Rule, that no peace is to be made without an entire diſunion of the* French *and* Spaniſh *Monarchies.*

That this may be brought about, he endeavours to prove from the progreſs we have already made towards it, and the ſucceſſes w have purchaſed in the

the preſent war, which are very conſiderable if well purſued, but of no effect if we acquieſce in them.

In order to complete this diſunion in which we have gone ſo far, he would not have us rely upon exhauſting the French *Treaſury, attempts on the* Spaniſh Indies, *Deſcents on* France, *but chiefly upon out-numbring them in troops,* France *being already drained of her beſt ſupplies, and the confederates maſters of much greater forces for multitude and ſtrength, both in men and horſe, and provided with Generals of greater fame and abilities.*

He then conſiders the wrong meaſures we have hitherto taken in making too ſmall levies after a ſucceſsful campaign, in regulating their number by that of the enemie's forces, and hiring them of our confederates; ſhewing at the ſame time the inconveniences we ſuffer from ſuch hired troops, and ſeveral advantages we might receive from employing thoſe of our own nation.

He further recommends this augmentation of our forces, to prevent the keeping up a ſtanding body of them in times of peace, to enable us to make an impreſſion on the Enemy in the preſent poſture of the war, and to ſecure our ſelves againſt a Prince, who is now at the head of a powerful army, and has not yet declared himſelf.

In the laſt place, he anſwers by ſeveral conſiderations thoſe two popular objections, That we furniſh more towards the war than the reſt of the Allies, and That we are not able to contribute more than we do already.

Theſe are the moſt material heads of the following Eſſay, in which there are many other ſubordinate reflections that naturally grow out of ſo copious a ſubject.

November 1707.

THE PRESENT STATE *of the* WAR, AND *The Neceſſity of an Augmentation, conſidered.*

THE *French* are certainly the moſt implacable, and the moſt dangerous enemies of the *Britiſh* nation. Their form of government, their religion, their jealouſy of the *Britiſh* power, as well as their proſecutions of commerce, and purſuits of univerſal Monarchy, will fix them for ever in their animoſities and averſions towards us, and make them catch at all opportunities of ſubverting our conſtitution, deſtroying our religion, ruining our trade, and ſinking the figure which we make among the nations of

Europe : Not to mention the particular ties of honour that lie on their preſent King to impoſe on us a Prince, who muſt prove fatal to our country if he ever reigns over us.

As we are thus in a natural ſtate of war, if I may ſo call it, with the *French* nation; it is our misfortune, that they are not only the moſt inveterate, but moſt formidable of our enemies; and have the greateſt power, as well as the ſtrongeſt inclination, to ruin us. No other ſtate equals them in the force of their fleets and armies, in the nearneſs and conveniency of their ſituation, and in the number of friends and well-wiſhers, which, it is to be feared, they have among us.

For theſe reaſons, our wars with *France* have always affected us in our moſt tender intereſts, and concerned us more than thoſe we have had with any other nation; but I may venture to ſay, this Kingdom was never yet engaged in a war of ſo great conſequence, as that which now lies upon our hands. Our All is at ſtake, and irretrievably loſt, if we fail of ſucceſs. At other times, if a war ended in a diſhonourable peace, or with equal loſs, we could comfort our ſelves with the hopes of a more favourable juncture, that might ſet the balance right, or turn it to our advantage. We had ſtill the proſpect of forming the ſame alliance, or perhaps ſtrengthning it with new confederacies, and by that means of trying our fortune a ſecond time, in caſe the injuſtice or ambition of the enemy forced us into the field. At preſent, if we make a drawn game of it, or procure but moderate advantages, we are in a condition which every *Britiſh* heart muſt tremble at the thought of. There are no ſecond tryals, no wars in reſerve, no new ſchemes of alliance to which we can have recourſe. Should the *French* King be able to bear down ſuch an united force as now makes head againſt him, at a time when *Spain* affords him no greater aſſiſtance; what will he do when the trade of the *Levant* lies at his mercy; when the whole kingdom of *Spain* is ſupplied with his manufactures, and the wealth of the *Indies* flows into his coffers; and, what is yet worſe, when this additional ſtrength muſt ariſe in all its particulars from a proportionable decay in the States that now make war upon him? It is no wonder therefore that our late King of glorious memory, who, by the confeſſion of his greateſt enemies, was a Prince that perfectly underſtood the intereſts of *Europe*, ſhould in his laſt ſpeech recommend to his Parliament the declaring war againſt *France* in thoſe memorable words: *You have yet an opportunity, by God's bleſſing, to ſecure to you and your poſterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to your ſelves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the* English *nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occaſion, you have no reaſon to hope for another.*

We have already a dreadful proof of the increaſe of power that accrues to *France* from its conjunction with *Spain*. So expenſive a war as that which the *French* Monarchy hath been carrying on in ſo many and ſo remote parts at once, muſt long ſince have drained and exhauſted all its ſubſtance, had there not been ſeveral ſecret ſprings, that ſwelled their treaſury from time to time, in proportion as the war has ſunk it. The King's coffers have been often reduced to the loweſt ebb, but have ſtill been ſeaſonably refreſhed by frequent and unexpected ſupplies from the *Spaniſh America*. We hear indeed of the arrival but of very few ſhips from thoſe parts; but as in every veſſel there is ſtowage for immenſe treaſures, when the cargo is pure Bullion, or merchandiſe of as great a value: ſo we find by experience they have had ſuch prodigious ſums of money conveyed to them by theſe ſecret channels, that they have been enabled to pay more numerous armies, than they ever had on foot before; and that at a time when their trade fails in all its other branches, and is diſtreſſed by all the arts and contrivances of their neighbouring nations. During the laſt four years, by a modeſt computation, there have been brought into *Breſt* above ſix millions of pounds ſterling in bullion. What then ſhall we ſuppoſe wou'd be the effect of this correſpondence with *America*, might the wealth of thoſe parts come to them on ſquadrons of men of war, and fleets of galeons? If theſe little by-currents, that creep into the country by ſtealth, have ſo great a force, how ſhall we ſtem the whole torrent, when it breaks in upon us with its full violence? and this certainly will be our caſe, unleſs we find a means to diſſolve the union between *France* and *Spain*. I have dwelt the longer on this conſideration, becauſe the preſent war hath already furniſhed us with the experiment, and ſenſibly convinced us of the increaſe of power, which *France* has received from its intercourſe with the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*.

As there are many who look upon every thing which they do not actually ſee and feel as bare probability and ſpeculation, I ſhall only touch on thoſe other reaſons of which we have already had ſome experience, for our preventing this coalition of intereſts and deſigns in the two monarchies.

The Woollen manufacture is the *Britiſh* ſtrength, the ſtaple commodity and proper growth of our country; if this fails us, our trade and eſtates muſt ſink together, and all the caſh of the nation be conſumed on foreign merchandize: The *French* at preſent gain very much upon us in this great article of our trade, and ſince the acceſſion of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, ſupply with cloth, of their own making, the very beſt mart we had in *Europe*. And what a melancholy proſpect have we, if ever a peace gives them leave to enrich their manufacture with mixtures of *Spaniſh* wool, to multiply the hands employed in it, to improve themſelves in all the niceties of the art, and to vend their wares in thoſe places where was the greateſt conſumption of our woollen works, and the moſt conſiderable gain for the *Britiſh* merchant? Notwithſtanding our many ſeaſonable recruits from *Portugal* and our plantations, we already complain of our want of bullion; and muſt at laſt be reduced to the greateſt exigencies, if this great ſource be dryed up, and our traffick with *Spain* continue under its preſent diſcouragement.

The trade of the *Levant* muſt likewiſe flouriſh or decay in our hands, as we are friends or enemies of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. The late conqueſt of *Naples* will very little alter the caſe, though *Sicily* ſhould follow the fate of her ſiſter kingdom. The *Streight*'s mouth is the key of the *Levant*, and will be always in the poſſeſſion of

thoſe

thoſe who are Kings of *Spain.* We may only add, that the ſame cauſes which ſtraiten the *Britiſh* commerce, will naturally enlarge the *French*; and that the naval force of either nation will thrive or languiſh in the ſame degree as their commerce gathers or loſes ſtrength. And if ſo powerful and populous a nation as that of *France* become ſuperior to us by ſea, our whole is loſt, and we are no more a people. The conſideration of ſo narrow a channel betwixt us, of ſuch numbers of regular troops on the enemy's ſide, of ſo ſmall a ſtanding force on our own, and that too in a country deſtitute of all ſuch forts and ſtrong places as might ſtop the progreſs of a victorious army, hath ſomething in it ſo terrifying, that one does not care for ſetting it in its proper light. Let it not therefore enter into the heart of any one that hath the leaſt zeal for his religion, or love of liberty, that hath any regard either to the honour or ſafety of his country, or a well wiſh for his friends or poſterity, to think of a peace with *France*, till the *Spaniſh* monarchy be entirely torn from it, and the houſe of *Bourbon* diſabled from ever giving the law to *Europe.*

Let us ſuppoſe that the *French* King would grant us the moſt advantageous terms we can deſire; without the ſeparation of the two monarchies they muſt infallibly end in our deſtruction. Should he ſecure to us all our preſent acquiſitions; ſhould he add two or three frontier-towns to what we have already in *Flanders*; ſhould he join the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Milan* and *Naples*; ſhould he leave King *Charles* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of *Catalonia*; ſhould he make over to *Great Britain* the town and harbour of *Cadiz*, as well as that of *Gibraltar*, and at the ſame time reſign his conqueſts in *Portugal*: it would all be of no effect towards the common ſafety of *Europe*, while the bulk of the *Spaniſh* continent and the riches of *America* remain in the poſſeſſion of the *Bourbon* family.

Boccalini when he weighs the States of *Europe* in his political balance, after having laid *France* in one ſcale, throws *Spain* into the other, which wanted but very little of being a counter-poiſe. The *Spaniards* upon this, ſays he, begun to promiſe themſelves the honour of the ballance; reckoning that if *Spain* of it ſelf weighed ſo well, they could not fail of ſucceſs when the ſeveral parts of the monarchy were lumped in the ſame ſcale. Their ſurpriſe was very great when upon the throwing in of *Naples* they ſaw the ſcale riſe, and was greater ſtill when they found that *Milan* and *Flanders* had the ſame effect. The truth of it is, theſe parts of the *Spaniſh* monarchy are rather for ornament than ſtrength. They furniſh out Vice-royalties for the Grandees, and poſts of honour for the noble families; but in a time of war are incumbrances to the main body of the kingdom, and leave it naked and expoſed by the great number of hands they draw from it to their defence. Should we therefore continue in the poſſeſſion of what we have already made our ſelves maſters, with ſuch additions as have been mentioned, we ſhould have little more than the excreſcencies of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. The ſtrength of it will ſtill join it ſelf to *France*, and grow the cloſer to it by its diſunion from the reſt. And in this caſe the advantages which muſt ariſe to that people from their intimate alliance with the remaining part of the *Spaniſh* dominions, would in a very few years not only repair all the damages they have ſuſtained in the preſent war, but fill the kingdom with more riches than it hath yet had in its moſt flouriſhing periods.

The *French* King hath often entered on ſeveral expenſive projects, on purpoſe to diſſipate the wealth that is continually gathering in his coffers in times of peace. He hath employed immenſe ſums on architecture, gardening, water-works, painting, ſtatuary, and the like, to diſtribute his treaſures among his people, as well as to humour his pleaſures and his ambition; but if he once engroſſes the commerce of the *Spaniſh Indies*, whatever quantities of gold and ſilver ſtagnate in his private coffers, there will be ſtill enough to carry on the circulation among his ſubjects. By this means in a ſhort ſpace of time he may heap up greater wealth than all the Princes of *Europe* joined together; and in the preſent conſtitution of the world, wealth and power are but different names for the ſame thing. Let us therefore ſuppoſe that after eight or ten years of peace, he hath a mind to infringe any of his treaties, or invade a neighbouring State; to revive the pretenſions of *Spain* upon *Portugal*, or attempt the taking thoſe places which were granted us for our ſecurity; what reſiſtance, what oppoſition can we make to ſo formidable an enemy? Should the ſame alliance riſe againſt him that is now in war with him, what could we hope for from it, at a time when the States engaged in it will be comparatively weakened, and the enemy who is now able to keep them at a ſtand, will have received ſo many new acceſſions of ſtrength?

But I think it is not to be imagined that in ſuch a conjuncture as we here ſuppoſe, the ſame confederates, or any other of equal force, could be prevailed upon to join their arms, and endeavour at the pulling down ſo exorbitant a power. Some might be bought into his intereſts by money, others drawn over by fear, and thoſe that are liable to neither of theſe impreſſions, might not think their own intereſt ſo much concerned as in the preſent war; or if any appeared in a diſpoſition to enter into ſuch a confederacy, they might be cruſhed ſeparately before they could concert meaſures for their mutual defence.

The keeping together of the preſent alliance can be aſcribed to nothing elſe but the clear and evident conviction which every member of it is under, that if it ſhould once break without having had its effect, they can never hope for another opportunity of reuniting, or of prevailing by all the joint efforts of ſuch an union. Let us therefore agree on this as a fixt rule, and an inviolable maxim, never to lay down our arms againſt *France*, till we have utterly disjoined her from the *Spaniſh* monarchy. Let this be the firſt ſtep of a publick treaty, the baſis of a general peace.

Had the preſent war indeed run againſt us, and all our attacks upon the enemy been vain, it might look like a degree of frenzy, or a mixture of obſtinacy and deſpair, to be determined on ſo impracticable an undertaking. But on the contrary, we have already done a great part of our work, and are come within view of the end that we have been ſo long driving at. We remain victorious in all the ſeats of war. In *Flanders* we have got into our hands ſeveral open countries, rich towns, and fortified places. We have driven the enemy out of all his alliances, diſpoſſeſſed him of his ſtrong holds, and ruined his allies in *Germany*. We have not only recovered what the beginning of the war had taken from us, but poſſeſſed our ſelves of the kingdom of *Naples*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and the avenue of *France* in *Italy*. The *Spaniſh* war hath given us a haven for our ſhips, and the moſt populous and wealthy province of that kingdom. In ſhort, we have taken all the outlying parts of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and made impreſſions upon the very heart of it. We have beaten the *French* from all their advanced poſts in *Europe*, and driven them into their laſt entrenchments. One vigorous puſh on all ſides, one general aſſault will force the enemy to cry out for quarter, and ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion. Another *Blenheim* or *Ramillies* will make the confederates maſters of their own terms, and arbitrators of a peace.

But notwithſtanding the advantages already gained are very conſiderable if we purſue them, they will be of no effect unleſs we improve them towards the carrying of our main point. The enemy ſtaggers; if you follow your blow, he falls at your feet; but if you allow him reſpite, he will recover his ſtrength, and come upon you with greater fury. We have given him ſeveral repeated wounds that have enfeebled him, and brought him low; but they are ſuch as time will heal, unleſs you take advantage from his preſent weakneſs to redouble your attacks upon him.

It was a celebrated part in *Cæſar*'s character, and what comes home to our preſent purpoſe, that he thought nothing at all was done, while any thing remained undone. In ſhort, we have been tugging a great while againſt the ſtream, and have almoſt weathered our point; a ſtretch or two more will do the work; but if inſtead of that we ſlacken our arms, and drop our oars, we ſhall be hurried back in a moment to the place from whence we firſt ſet out.

After having ſeen the neceſſity of an entire ſeparation of the kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*, our ſubject naturally leads us into the conſideration of the moſt proper means for effecting it.

We have a great while flattered our ſelves with the proſpect of reducing *France* to our own terms by the want of money among the people, and the exigencies of the publick treaſury; but have been ſtill diſappointed by the great ſums imported from *America*, and the many new expedients which the Court hath found out for its relief. A long conſumptive war is more likely to break the grand alliance, than diſable *France* from maintaining ſufficient armies to oppoſe it. An arbitrary government will never want money ſo long as the people have it; and ſo active a people will always have it, whilſt they can ſend what merchandiſes they pleaſe to *Mexico* and *Peru*. The *French* ſince their alliance with *Spain* keep thirty ſhips in conſtant motion between the weſtern ports of *France* and the ſouth ſeas of *America*. The King himſelf is an adventurer in this traffick, and beſides the ſhare that he receives out of the gains of his ſubjects, has immenſe ſums that come directly from it into his own hands.

We may further conſider, that the *French* ſince their abandoning *Bavaria* and *Italy* have very much retrenched the expence of the war, and lay out among themſelves all the money that is conſumed in it.

Many are of opinion, that the moſt probable way of bringing *France* to reaſon would be by the making an attempt upon the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, and by that means to cut off all communication with this great ſource of riches, or turn the current of it into our own country. This I muſt confeſs carries ſo promiſing an appearance, that I would by no means diſcourage the attempt: but at the ſame time I think it ſhould be a collateral project rather than our principal deſign. Such an undertaking (if well concerted, and put into good hands) would be of infinite advantage to the common cauſe: but certainly an enterpriſe that carries in it the fate of *Europe*, ſhould not turn upon the uncertainty of winds and waves, and be liable to all the accidents that may befal a naval expedition.

Others there are that have long deceived themſelves with the hopes of an inſurrection in *France*, and are therefore for laying out all our ſtrength on a deſcent. Theſe, I think, do not enough conſider the natural love which the groſs of mankind have for the conſtitution of their fathers. A man that is not enlightened by travel or reflexion, grows as fond of arbitrary power, to which he hath been uſed from his infancy, as of cold climates, or barren countries in which he hath been born and bred. Beſides, there is a kind of ſluggiſh reſignation, as well as poorneſs and degeneracy of ſpirit, in a ſtate of ſlavery, that we meet with but very few who will be at the pains or danger of recovering themſelves out of it; as we find in hiſtory inſtances of perſons who after their priſons have been flung open, and their fetters ſtruck off, have choſen rather to languiſh in their dungeons, than ſtake their miſerable lives and fortunes upon the ſucceſs of a revolution. I need not inſtance the general fate of deſcents, the difficulty of ſupplying men and proviſions by ſea againſt an enemy that hath both at hand, and without which it is impoſſible to ſecure thoſe conqueſts that are often made in the firſt onſets of an invaſion. For theſe and other reaſons I can never approve the nurſing up commotions and inſurrections in the enemy's country, which for want of the neceſſary ſupport are likely to end in the maſſacre of our friends and the ruin of their families.

The only means therefore for bringing *France* to our conditions, and what appears to me, in all human probability, a ſure and infallible expedient, is to throw in multitudes upon them, and overpower them with numbers. Would the confederacy exert it ſelf as much to annoy the enemy, as they themſelves do for their defence, we might bear them down with the weight of our armies, and in one ſummer overſet the whole power of *France*.

The *French* monarchy is already exhauſted of its beſt and braveſt ſubjects. The flower of the nation is conſumed in its wars: the ſtrength of their armies conſiſts at preſent of ſuch as have ſaved themſelves by flight from ſome or other of the victorious confederates; and the only proper perſons to recruit them are but the refuſe of thoſe who have been already picked out for the ſervice. Mareſchal *de Vauban*, though infinitely partial in his calculations of the power of *France*, reckons that the number of its inhabitants was two millions leſs at the peace of *Ryſwick*, than in the beginning of the war that was there concluded: and though that war continued nine years, and this hath as yet laſted but ſix, yet conſidering that their armies are more ſtrong and numerous; that there hath been much more action in the preſent war; and that their loſſes ſuſtained in it have been very extraordinary; we may, by a moderate computation, ſuppoſe that the preſent war hath not been leſs prejudicial than the foregoing one in the ravage which it has made among the people. There is in *France* ſo great a diſproportion between the number of males and females; and among the former, between thoſe who are capable of bearing arms, and ſuch as are too young, ſickly, or decrepit for the ſervice; and at the ſame time ſuch vaſt numbers of Eccleſiaſticks, ſecular and religious, who live upon the labours of others, that when the ſeveral trades and profeſſions are ſupplied, you will find moſt of thoſe that are proper for war abſolutely neceſſary for filling up the laborious part of life, and carrying on the underwork of the nation. They have already contributed all their ſuperfluous hands, and every new levy they make muſt be at the expence of their farms and vineyards, their manufactures and commerce.

On the contrary, the grand Alliance have innumerable ſources of recruits, not only in *Britain* and *Ireland*, the *United Provinces*, and *Flanders*; but in all the populous parts of *Germany* that have little trade or manufactures; in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. We may add, that the *French* have only *Switzerland*, beſides their own country, to recruit in; and we know the difficulties they meet with in getting thence a ſingle regiment: whereas the Allies have not only the ſame reſource, but may be ſupplied for money from *Denmark* and other neutral States. In ſhort, the Confederates may bring to the field what forces they pleaſe, if they will be at the charge of them: but *France*, let her wealth be what it will, muſt content herſelf with the product of her own country.

The *French* are ſtill in greater ſtreights for ſupplies of horſe than men. The breed of their country is neither ſo good nor numerous as what are to be found in moſt of the countries of the Allies. They had laſt ſummer about threeſcore thouſand in their ſeveral armies, and could not perhaps bring into the field thirty thouſand more, if they were diſpoſed to make ſuch an augmentation.

The *French* horſe are not only few, but weak in compariſon of ours. Their cavalry in the battle of *Blenheim* could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the *Britiſh* horſe. For this reaſon our late way of attacking their troops ſword in hand is very much to the advantage of our nation, as our men are more robuſt, and our horſes of a ſtronger make than the *French*; and in ſuch attacks it is the weight of the forces, ſuppoſing equal courage and conduct, that will always carry it. The *Engliſh* ſtrength turned very much to account in our wars againſt the *French* of old, when we uſed to gall them with our long bows, at a greater diſtance than they could ſhoot their arrows: this advantage we loſt upon the invention of fire-arms, but by the preſent method our ſtrength as well as bravery may again be of uſe to us in the day of battle.

We have very great encouragement to ſend what numbers we are able into the field, becauſe our Generals at preſent are ſuch as are likely to make the beſt uſe of them, without throwing them away on any freſh attempts or ill-concerted projects. The Confederate armies have the happineſs of being commanded by perſons who are eſteemed the greateſt leaders of the preſent age, and are perhaps equal to any that have preceded them. There is a ſort of reſemblance in their characters; a particular ſedateneſs in their converſation and behaviour, that qualifies them for council, with a great intrepidity and reſolution that fits them for action. They are all of them men of concealed fire, that doth not break out with noiſe and heat in the ordinary circumſtances of life; but ſhews it ſelf ſufficiently in all great enterpriſes that require it. It is true, the General upon the *Rhine* hath not had the ſame occaſions as the others to ſignalize himſelf; but if we conſider the great vigilance, activity and courage, with the conſummate prudence, and the nice ſenſe of honour which appears in that Prince's character, we have great reaſon to hope, that as he purchaſed the firſt ſucceſs in the preſent war, by forcing into the ſervice of the Confederates an army that was raiſed againſt them in the very heart of the Empire, he will give one of the finiſhing ſtrokes to it, and help to conclude the great work which he ſo happily begun. The ſudden check that he gave to the *French* army the laſt campaign, and the good order he eſtabliſhed in that of the *Germans*, look like happy preſages of what we may expect from his conduct. I ſhall not pretend to give any character of the Generals on the enemies ſide; but I think we may ſay this, that in the eyes of their own nation they are inferior to ſeveral that have formerly commanded the *French* armies. If then we have greater numbers than the *French*, and at the ſame time better Generals, it muſt be our own fault if we will not reap the fruit of ſuch advantages.

It would be loſs of time to explain any farther our ſuperiority to the enemy in numbers of men and horſe. We ſee plainly that we have the means in our hands, and that nothing but the application of them is wanting. Let us only conſider what uſe the enemy would make of the advantage we have mentioned, if it fell on their ſide; and is it not very ſtrange that we ſhould not be as active and induſtrious for our ſecurity, as they would certainly be for our deſtruction? But before we conſider more diſtinctly the method we ought to take in the proſecution of the war, under this particular view, let us reflect a little upon thoſe we have already taken in the courſe of it for theſe ſix years paſt.

The Allies after a ſucceſsful ſummer are too apt, upon the ſtrength of it, to neglect their preparations for the enſuing campaign, while the *French* leave no art nor ſtratagem untried to fill up the empty ſpaces of their armies, and ſwell them to an equal bulk with thoſe of the Confederates. By this means our advantage is loſt, and the fate of *Europe* brought to a ſecond deciſion. It is now become an obſervation, that we are to expect a very indifferent year after a very ſucceſsful

ful one. *Blenheim* was followed by a ſummer that makes no noiſe in the war. *Ramillies*, *Turin*, and *Barcelona*, were the parents of our laſt campaign. So many dreadful blows alarmed the enemy, and raiſed their whole country up in arms. Had we on our ſide made proportionable preparations, the war by this time had been brought to a happy iſſue. If after having gained the great victories of *Blenheim* and *Ramillies*, we had made the ſame efforts as we ſhould have done had we loſt them, the power of *France* could not have withſtood us.

In the beginning of the winter we uſually get what intelligence we can of the force which the enemy intends to employ in the campaigns of the ſucceeding year, and immediately caſt about for a ſufficient number of troops to face them in the field of battle. This, I muſt confeſs, would be a good method if we were engaged in a defenſive war. We might maintain our ground with an equal number of forces; but our buſineſs is not only to ſecure what we are already in poſſeſſion of; we are to wreſt the whole *Spaniſh* Monarchy out of the hands of the enemy; and in order to it, to work our way into the heart of his country by dint of arms. We ſhould therefore put forth all our ſtrength, and without having an eye to his preparations, make the greateſt puſh that we are able on our own ſide. We are told that the enemy at preſent thinks of raiſing threeſcore thouſand men for the next ſummer; if we regulate our levies in that view, we do nothing; let us perform our utmoſt, as they do, and we ſhall overwhelm them with our multitudes. We have it in our power at leaſt to be four times as ſtrong as the *French*, but if ten men are in war with forty, and the latter detach only an equal number to the engagement, what benefit do they receive from their ſuperiority?

It ſeems therefore to be the buſineſs of the Confederates to turn to their advantage their apparent odds in men and horſe; and by that means to out-number the enemy in all rencounters and engagements. For the ſame reaſon it muſt be for the intereſt of the Allies to ſeek all opportunities of battle, becauſe all loſſes on the oppoſite ſide are made up with infinitely more difficulty than on ours; beſides that the *French* do their buſineſs by lying ſtill, and have no other concern in the war than to hold faſt what they have already got into their hands.

The miſcarriage of the nobleſt project that ever was formed in *Europe*, can be aſcribed to nothing elſe but our want of numbers in the ſeveral quarters of the war. If our armies on all ſides had begun to buſy and inſult the enemy, at the ſame time that the forces marched out of *Piemont*, *Toulon* had been at preſent in the hands of the Duke of *Savoy*. But could that Prince ever have imagined that the *French* would have been at liberty to detach whole armies againſt him? or will it appear credible to poſterity, that in a war carried on by the joint force of ſo many populous and powerful nations, *France* could ſend ſo great a part of its troops to one ſeat of the war, without ſuffering in any of the reſt? Whereas it is well known, that if the Duke of *Savoy* had continued before *Toulon* eight days longer, he had been attacked by an army of ſixty thouſand men, which was more than double the number of his own; and yet the enemy was ſtrong enough every where elſe to prevent the Confederates from making any impreſſion upon them. However, let us fall into the right meaſures, and we may hope that the ſtroke is only deferred. The Duke of *Savoy* hath ſecured a paſſage into *Dauphiny*, and if the Allies make ſuch efforts in all parts, as we may reaſonably expect from them, that Prince may ſtill make himſelf Maſter of the *French* dominions on the other ſide of the *Rhone*.

There is another part of our conduct which may perhaps deſerve to be conſidered. As ſoon as we have agreed with the States-General upon any augmentation of our forces, we immediately negotiate with ſome or other of the *German* Princes, who are in the ſame confederacy, to furniſh out our quota in Mercenaries. This may be doubly prejudicial to the alliance; Firſt, as it may have an ill influence on the reſolutions of thoſe Princes in the Diet of the Empire, who may be willing to ſettle as ſmall a quota as they can for themſelves, that they may have more troops to hire out; and in the next place, as it may hinder them from contributing the whole quota which they have ſettled This actually happened in the laſt campaign, when we are told the *Germans* excuſed themſelves for their want of troops upon the *Rhine*, as having already put moſt of their forces into the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* ſervice. Such an excuſe, indeed, is very unjuſt, but it would be better to give them no occaſion of making it; and on ſuch occaſions to conſider what men are apt to do, as well as what they may do with reaſon.

It might therefore be for our advantage that all the foreign troops in the *Britiſh* pay ſhould be raiſed in neutral countries; *Switzerland* in particular, if timely applied to, might be of great uſe to us; not only in reſpect of the reinforcements which we might draw from thence, but becauſe ſuch a draught of forces would leſſen the number of thoſe that might otherwiſe be employed in the *French* ſervice. The bulk of our levies ſhould nevertheleſs be raiſed in our own country, it being impoſſible for neutral States to furniſh both the *Britiſh* and *Dutch* with a ſufficient number of effective men; beſides that the *Britiſh* ſoldiers will be more at the diſpoſal of their General, and act with greater vigour under the conduct of one for whom they have ſo juſt a value, and whom they do not conſider only as their leader, but as their country-man. We may likewiſe ſuppoſe that the ſoldiers of a neutral ſtate, who are not animated by any national intereſt, cannot fight for pay with the ſame ardour and alacrity, as men that fight for their Prince and country, their wives and children.

It may likewiſe be worth while to conſider whether the military Genius of the *Engliſh* nation may not fall by degrees, and become inferior to that of our neighbouring ſtates, if it hath no occaſion to exert it ſelf. Minds that are altogether ſet on trade and profit, often contract a certain narrowneſs of temper, and at length become uncapable of great and generous reſolutions. Should the *French* ever make an unexpected deſcent upon us, we might want ſoldiers of our own growth to riſe up in our defence; and might not have time to draw a ſufficient number of troops to our relief from the remote corners of *Germany*. It is generally ſaid, that if King *Charles* II. had made war upon *France* in the beginning of his reign, he might have conquered it by the many veterans which were ſcattered up and down this kingdom, and had been inured to ſervice in the civil wars. It is to be hoped we ſhall never have ſuch another nurſery of ſoldiers; but if the preſent war gives a more military turn to all other nations of *Europe*, than to our own, it is to be feared we may loſe in ſtrength, what we gain in number. We may apply the ſame conſideration nearer home. If all our levies are made in *Scotland* or *Ireland*, may not thoſe two parts of the *Britiſh* monarchy, after the disbanding of the preſent army, be too powerful for the reſt, in caſe of a revolt? though, God be thanked, we are not in any danger of one at preſent. However, as theſe conſiderations do not concern the more eſſential part of our deſign, it is ſufficient to have mentioned them.

The ſparing of our ſelves in ſo important a conjuncture, when we have but this ſingle opportunity left for the preſerving every thing that is precious amongſt us, is the worſt ſort of management that we can poſſibly fall into. The good husbandry of one age may intail an endleſs expence upon all poſterity. We muſt venture the ſacrificing a part of our lives and fortunes at preſent, if we will effectually ſecure both for the future. The *Britiſh* Kingdom is ſo well ſtock'd with people, and ſo much abounds in horſe, that we have power enough in our own hands, did we make our outmoſt uſe of it, to humble *France*, and in a campaign or two to put an end to the war.

There is not a more diſagreeable thought to the people of *Great Britain* than that of a ſtanding army. But if a peace be made before the diſunion of *France* and *Spain*, there are few, perhaps, that will not think the maintaining a ſettled body of numerous forces indiſpenſable for the ſafety of our country. We have it therefore in our choice to raiſe ſuch a ſtrong reinforcement of troops as at preſent may be ſufficient, in conjunction with thoſe of the allies, for breaking the ſtrength of the enemy; or when the peace is concluded, to keep on foot ſuch an army as will be neceſſary for preventing his attempts upon us.

It is to be hoped that thoſe who would be the moſt zealous againſt keeping up a conſtant body of regular troops after a general peace, will the moſt diſtinguiſh themſelves for the promoting an augmentation of thoſe which are now on foot; and by that means take care that we ſhall not ſtand in need of ſuch an expedient.

We are indeed obliged by the preſent ſituation of our affairs to bring more troops into the field than we have yet done. As the *French* are retired within their lines, and have collected all their ſtrength into a narrow compaſs, we muſt have greater numbers to charge them in their intrenchments, and force them to a battle. We ſaw the laſt campaign that an army of fourſcore thouſand of the beſt troops in *Europe*, with the Duke of *Marlborough* at the head of them, could do nothing againſt an enemy that were too numerour to be aſſaulted in their camps, or attacked in their ſtrong holds.

There is another conſideration which deſerves our utmoſt attention. We know very well, that there is a Prince at the head of a powerful army, who may give a turn to the war, in which we are engaged, if he thinks fit to ſide with either party. I cannot preſume to gueſs how far our miniſters may be informed of his deſigns: but unleſs they have very ſtrong aſſurances of his falling in with the grand alliance, or not oppoſing it, they cannot be too circumſpect and ſpeedy in taking their precautions againſt any contrary reſolution. We ſhall be unpardonable, if after ſuch an expence of blood and treaſure, we leave it in the power of any ſingle Prince to command a peace, and make us accept what conditions he thinks fit. It is certain, according to the poſture of our affairs in the laſt campaign, this Prince could have turn'd the ballance on either ſide; but it is to be hoped the liberties of *Europe* will not depend any more on the determination of one man's will. I do not ſpeak this becauſe I think there is any appearance of that Prince's uniting himſelf to *France*. On the contrary, as he hath an extraordinary zeal for the reformed religion, and great ſentiments of honour, I think it is not improbable we ſhould draw him over to the confederacy, if we preſs him to it by proper motives. His love for religion, and his ſenſe of glory, will both have their effect on a Prince who hath already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by being a patron of proteſtants, and guarantee of the *Weſtphalian* treaty. And if his intereſt hath any part in his actions, the allies may make him greater offers than the *French* King can do in the preſent conjuncture. There are large extents of dominion in the forfeited principalities of the Empire; doubtful ſucceſſions, to which the King of *Sweden* ſeems to have very juſt pretenſions; and at the ſame time a great title not yet diſpoſed of, and a ſeat of war on the *Moſelle*, where none of our generals have ſignalized themſelves. It would be preſumption to be particular in any propoſals on ſuch an occaſion; it is enough to have ſhewn in general, that there are fair opportunities, of which the wiſdom of the confederates may make uſe.

Common ſenſe will direct us, when we ſee ſo warlike a prince at the head of ſo great an army hovering on the borders of our confederates, either to obtain his friendſhip, or ſecure our ſelves againſt the force of his arms. We are ſure, whatever numbers of troops we raiſe, we ſhall have no hands but what will turn to account. Nay, we are certain, that extraordinary funds and augmentations for one or two campaigns may ſpare us the expence of many years, and put an end to taxes and levies for a whole age; whereas a long parſimonious war will drain us of more men and money, and in the end may prove ineffectual.

There is ſtill a great popular objection, which will be made to every thing that can be urged on this ſubject. And indeed it is ſuch a one as falls ſo much in with the prejudices and little paſſions of the multitude, that when it is turned and ſet off to advantage by ill-deſigning men, it throws a damp on the publick ſpirit of the nation, and gives a check to all generous reſolutions for its honour and ſafety. In ſhort, we are to be told, that *England* contributes much more than any other of the Allies, and that therefore it is not reaſonable ſhe ſhould make any addition to her preſent efforts. If this were true in fact, I do not ſee any tolerable colour for ſuch a concluſion. Suppoſing among a multitude embarqued in the ſame veſſel, there are ſeveral that in the fury of a tempeſt will rather periſh than work for their preſervation; would it not be madneſs in the reſt to ſtand idle, and rather chuſe to ſink together than do more than comes to their ſhare? Since we are engaged in a work ſo abſolutely neceſſary for our welfare, the remiſsneſs of our Allies ſhould be an argument for us to redouble our endeavours rather than ſlacken them. If we muſt govern our ſelves by example, let us rather imitate the vigilance and activity of the common enemy, than the ſupineneſs and negligence of our friends.

We have indeed a much greater ſhare in the war than any other part of the confederacy. The *French* King makes at us directly, keeps a King by him to ſet over us, and hath very lately augmented the ſalary of his court, to let us ſee how much he hath that deſign at his heart. Few of the nations in war with him, ſhould they ever fall into his hands, would loſe their religion or form of government, or interfere at preſent with him in matters of commerce. The *Dutch*, who are likely to be the greateſt loſers after the *Britains*, have but little trade to the *Levant* in compariſon with ours, have no conſiderable plantations or commerce in the *Weſt-Indies*, or any woollen-manufactures for *Spain*; not to mention the ſtrong barrier they have already purchaſed between *France* and their own country.

But after all, every nation in the confederacy makes the ſame complaint, and fancies it ſelf the greateſt ſufferer by the war. Indeed in ſo common a preſſure, let the weight be never ſo equally diſtributed, every one will be moſt ſenſible of that part which lies on his own ſhoulders. We furniſh, without diſpute, more than any other branch of the Alliance: but the queſtion is, whether others do not exert themſelves in proportion according to their reſpective ſtrength. The Emperor, the King of *Pruſſia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, as well as the States of *Holland* and the Duke of *Savoy*, ſeem at leaſt to come up to us. The greateſt powers in *Germany* are borrowing mony where they can get it, in order to maintain their ſtated Quota's, and go thorough their part of the expence: and if any of the Circles have been negligent, they have paid for it much more in their late contributions, than what would have furniſhed out their ſhares in the common charges of the war.

There are others who will object the poverty of the nation, and the difficulties it would find in furniſhing greater ſupplies to the war than it doth at preſent. To this we might anſwer, that if the nation were really as poor as this objection makes it, it ſhould be an argument for enforcing rather than diminiſhing our preſent efforts againſt *France*. The ſinking our taxes for a few years would be only a temporary relief, and in a little time occaſion far greater impoſitions, than thoſe which are now laid upon us. Whereas the ſeaſonable expence of part of our riches, will not only preſerve the reſt; but by the right uſe of them procure vaſt additions to our preſent ſtock. It may be neceſſary for a perſon languiſhing under an ill habit of body to loſe ſeveral ounces of blood, notwithſtanding it will weaken him for a time, in order to put a new ferment into the remaining maſs, and draw into it freſh ſupplies.

But we can by no means make this conceſſion, to thoſe who ſo induſtriouſly publiſh the nation's poverty. Our country is not only rich, but abounds in wealth much more than any other of the ſame extent in *Europe*. *France*, notwithſtanding the goodneſs of its climate, the fertility of its ſoil, the multitude of its inhabitants, its convenient harbours, both for the *Ocean* and *Mediterranean*, and its preſent correſpondence with the *Weſt-Indies*, is not to compare with *Great Britain* in this particular. I ſhall tranſcribe word for word the paſſage of a late celebrated *French* Author, which will lay this matter in its full light; and leave the Reader to make the counter-part of the parallel between the two nations.

" According to all the inquiries that I have been " able to make during ſeveral years, in which I " have applied my ſelf to this ſort of remarks, " I have obſerved, that about a tenth part of the " people of this kingdom are reduced to beggary, and are actual beggars. That among the " nine other parts, five are not in a condition to " give alms or relief to thoſe aforementioned, " being very near reduced themſelves to the ſame " miſerable condition. Of the four other remaining parts, three are very uneaſy in their circumſtances, and embarraſſed with debts and " law-ſuits. In the tenth part, I reckon the Soldiers, Lawyers, Eccleſiaſticks, Merchants and " ſubſtantial Citizens, which cannot make up " more than a hundred thouſand families. And

" I believe I ſhould not be miſtaken, if I ſhould
" ſay, that there are not above ten thouſand of
" theſe families, who are very much at their eaſe:
" and if out of theſe ten thouſand we ſhould take
" the men that are employed in publick buſineſs,
" with their dependents and adherents, as alſo
" thoſe whom the King ſupports by his boun-
" ty, with a few Merchants, the number of thoſe
" who remain will be ſurprizingly little. *Dixme Royale.*

What a dreadful account is this of nineteen millions of people; for ſo many the author reckons in that kingdom. How can we ſee ſuch a multitude of ſouls caſt under ſo many ſubdiviſions of miſery, without reflecting on the abſurdity of a form of government that ſacrifices the eaſe and happineſs of ſo many reaſonable Beings to the glory of one of their fellow-creatures? But this is not our affair at preſent.

If we run over the other nations of *Europe* that have any part in the preſent war, we ſhall only paſs through ſo many different ſcenes of poverty. *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Savoy* are reduced to great extremities. *Germany* is exhauſted to the laſt degree in many parts of it, and in others plundered of all ſhe had left. *Holland* indeed flouriſhes above the reſt in wealth and plenty: but if we conſider the infinite induſtry and penurioufneſs of that people, the coarſeneſs of their food and raiment, their little indulgences of pleaſure and exceſs, it is no wonder that notwithſtanding they furniſh as great taxes as their neighbours, they make a better figure under them. In a commonwealth there are not ſo many overgrown eſtates as in monarchies, the wealth of the country is ſo equally diſtributed, that moſt of the community are at their eaſe, though few are placed in extraordinary points of ſplendor and magnificence. But notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances may very much contribute to the ſeeming proſperity of the *United Provinces*, we know they are indebted many millions more than their whole republick is worth, and if we conſider the variety of taxes and impoſitions they groan under at a time when their private diſſentions run high, and ſome of the wealthieſt parts of the government refuſe to bear their ſhare in the publick expence, we ſhall not think the condition of that people ſo much to be envied as ſome amongſt us would willingly repreſent it.

Nor is *Great Britain* only rich as ſhe ſtands in compariſon with other States, but is really ſo in her own intrinſick wealth. She had never more ſhips at ſea, greater quantities of merchandiſe in her warehouſes, larger receipts of cuſtoms, or more numerous commodities riſing out of her manufactures than ſhe has at preſent. In ſhort, ſhe ſits in the midſt of a mighty affluence of all the neceſſaries and conveniences of life. If our ſilver and gold diminiſhes, our publick credit continues unimpaired, and if we are in want of bullion, it lies in our own power to ſupply our ſelves. The old *Roman* General, when he heard his army complain of thirſt, ſhewed them the ſprings and rivers that lay behind the enemy's camp. It is our own caſe: the rout of a *Spaniſh* army would make us maſters of the *Indies*.

If Prince *Eugene* takes upon him the command of the confederate forces in *Catalonia*, and meets with that ſupport from the alliance which they are capable of giving him, we have a fair proſpect of reducing *Spain* to the entire obedience of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The *Sileſian* fund (to the immortal reputation of thoſe generous patriots who were concerned in it) enabled that Prince to make a conqueſt of *Italy*, at a time when our affairs were more deſperate there, than they are at preſent in the kingdom of *Spain*.

When our Parliament has done their utmoſt, another publick-ſpirited project of the ſame nature, which the common enemy could not foreſee nor prepare againſt, might in all probability ſet King *Charles* upon the throne for which he hath ſo long contended. One pitched battle would determine the fate of the *Spaniſh* continent.

Let us therefore exert the united ſtrength of our whole Iſland, and by that means put a new life and ſpirit into the confederates, who have their eyes fixed upon us, and will abate or increaſe their preparations according to the example that is ſet them. We ſee the neceſſity of an augmentation if we intend to bring the enemy to reaſon, or reſcue our country from the miſeries that may befall it; and we find our ſelves in a condition of making ſuch an augmentation as, by the bleſſing of God. cannot but prove effectual. If we carry it on vigorouſly, we ſhall gain for our ſelves and our poſterity a long, a glorious and a laſting peace; but if we neglect ſo fair an opportunity, we may be willing to employ all our hands, and all our treaſures, when it will be too late; and ſhall be tormented with one of the moſt melancholy reflexions of an afflicted heart, That it was once in our power to have made our ſelves and our children happy.

OF THE

Chriſtian Religion.

OF THE

Chriſtian Religion.

SECTION I.

I. *General diviſion of the following diſcourſe, with regard to* Pagan *and* Jewiſh *Authors, who mention particulars relating to our Saviour.*

II. *Not probable that any ſuch ſhould be mentioned by* Pagan *writers who lived at the ſame time, from the nature of ſuch tranſactions.*

III. *Eſpecially when related by the* Jews:

IV. *And heard at a diſtance by thoſe who pretended to as great miracles as their own.*

V. *Beſides that, no* Pagan *writers of that age lived in* Judæa *or its Confines.*

VI. *And becauſe many books of that age are loſt.*

VII. *An inſtance of one record proved to be authentick.*

VIII. *A ſecond record of probable, though not undoubted, authority.*

I THAT I may lay before you a full ſtate of the ſubject under our conſideration, and methodize the ſeveral particulars that I touched upon in diſcourſe with you; I ſhall firſt take notice of ſuch *Pagan* Authors, as have given their teſtimony to the hiſtory of our Saviour; reduce theſe Authors under their reſpective claſſes, and ſhew what authority their teſtimonies carry with them. Secondly, I ſhall take notice of *Jewiſh* Authors in the ſame light.

II. There are many reaſons, why you ſhould not expect that matters of ſuch a wonderful nature ſhould be taken notice of by thoſe eminent *Pagan* writers, who were contemporaries with *Jeſus Chriſt*, or by thoſe who lived before his Diſciples had perſonally appeared among them, and aſcertained the report which had gone abroad concerning a life ſo full of miracles.

Suppoſing ſuch things had happened at this day in *Switzerland*, or among the *Griſons*, who make a greater figure in *Europe* than *Judæa* did in the *Roman* Empire, would they be immediately believed by thoſe who live at a great diſtance from them? or would any certain account of them be tranſmitted into foreign countries, within ſo ſhort a ſpace of time as that of our Saviour's publick miniſtry? Such kinds of news, though never ſo true, ſeldom gain credit, till ſome time after they are tranſacted and expoſed to the examination of the curious, who by laying together circumſtances, atteſtations, and characters of thoſe who are concerned in them, either receive or reject what at firſt none but eye-witneſſes could abſolutely believe or disbelieve. In a caſe of this ſort, it was natural for men of ſenſe and learning to treat the whole account as fabulous, or at fartheſt to ſuſpend their belief of it, until all things ſtood together in their full light.

III. Beſides, the *Jews* were branded not only for ſuperſtitions different from all the religions of the *Pagan* world, but in a particular manner ridiculed for being a credulous people; ſo that whatever reports of ſuch a nature came out of that country, were looked upon by the heathen world as falſe, frivolous, and improbable.

IV. We may further obſerve that the ordinary practice of Magic in thoſe times, with the many pretended Prodigies, Divinations, Apparitions, and local Miracles among the Heathens, made them leſs attentive to ſuch news from *Judæa*, till they had time to conſider the nature, the occaſion, and the end of our Saviour's miracles, and were awakened by many ſurprizing events to allow them any conſideration at all.

V. We are indeed told by St. *Matthew*, that the fame of our Saviour, during his life, went throughout all *Syria*, and that there followed him great multitudes of people from *Galilee*, *Judæa*, *Decapolis*, *Idumæa*, from beyond *Jordan*, and from *Tyre* and *Sidon*. Now had there been any hiſtorians of thoſe times and places, we might have expected to have ſeen in them ſome account of thoſe wonderful tranſactions in *Judæa*; but there is not any ſingle Author extant, in any kind, of that age, in any of thoſe countries.

VI. How many books have periſhed in which poſſibly there might have been mention of our Saviour? Look among the *Romans*, how few of their writings are come down to our times? In the ſpace of two hundred years from our Saviour's birth, when there was ſuch a multitude of writers in all kinds, how ſmall is the number of Authors that have made their way to the preſent age?

VII. One authentick Record, and that the moſt authentick heathen Record, we are pretty ſure is loſt. I mean the account ſent by the Governor of *Judæa*, under whom our Saviour was judged, condemned, and crucified. It was the cuſtom in the *Roman* Empire, as it is to this day in all the governments of the world, for the præfects and vice-roys of diſtant provinces to tranſmit to their Soveraign a ſummary relation of every thing remarkable in their adminiſtration. That *Pontius Pilate*, in his account, would have touched on ſo extraordinary an event in *Judæa*, is not to be doubted; and that he actually did, we learn from *Juſtin Martyr*, who lived about a hundred years after our Saviour's death, reſided, made Converts, and ſuffered martyrdom at *Rome*, where he was engaged with Philoſophers, and in a particular manner with *Creſcens* the *Cynick*, who could eaſily have detected, and would not fail to have expoſed him, had he quoted a Record not in being, or made any falſe citation out of it. Would the great Apologiſt have challenged *Creſcens* to diſpute the cauſe of Chriſtianity with him before the *Roman* Senate, had he forged ſuch an evidence? or would *Creſcens* have refuſed the challenge, could he have triumphed over him in the detection of ſuch a forgery? To which we muſt add, that the Apology, which appeals to this Record, was preſented to a learned Emperor, and to the whole body of the *Ro-*

man Senate. This father in his apology, ſpeaking of the death and ſuffering of our Saviour, refers the Emperor for the truth of what he ſays to the acts of *Pontius Pilate*, which I have here mentioned. *Tertullian*, who wrote his Apology about fifty years after *Juſtin*, doubtleſs referred to the ſame Record, when he tells the Governor of *Rome*, that the Emperor *Tiberius* having received an account out of *Paleſtine* in *Syria* of the Divine perſon who had appeared in that country, paid him a particular regard, and threatned to puniſh any who ſhould accuſe the chriſtians; nay, that the Emperor would have adopted him among the Deities whom they worſhipped, had not the Senate refuſed to come into his propoſal. *Tertullian*, who gives us this hiſtory, was not only one of the moſt learned men of his age, but, what adds a greater weight to his authority in this caſe, was eminently ſkilful and well read in the laws of the *Roman* Empire. Nor can it be ſaid, that *Tertullian* grounded his quotation upon the authority of *Juſtin Martyr*, becauſe we find he mixes it with matters of fact which are not related by that Author. *Euſebius* mentions the ſame ancient Record, but as it was not extant in his time, I ſhall not inſiſt upon his authority in this point. If it be objected that this particular is not mentioned in any *Roman* Hiſtorian, I ſhall uſe the ſame argument in a parallel caſe, and ſee whether it will carry any force with it. *Ulpian* the great *Roman* Lawyer gathered together all the Imperial Edicts that had been made againſt the chriſtians. But did any one ever ſay that there had been no ſuch Edicts, becauſe they were not mentioned in the hiſtories of thoſe Emperors? Beſides, who knows but this circumſtance of *Tiberius* was mentioned in other hiſtorians that have been loſt, though not to be found in any ſtill extant? Has not *Suetonius* many particulars of this Emperor omitted by *Tacitus*, and *Herodian* many that are not ſo much as hinted at by either? As for the ſpurious *Acts* of *Pilate*, now extant, we know the occaſion and time of their writing, and that had there not been a true and authentick Record of this nature, they would never have been forged.

VIII. The ſtory of *Agbarus* King of *Edeſſa*, relating to the letter which he ſent to our Saviour, and to that which he received from him, is a record of great authority; and though I will not inſiſt upon it, may venture to ſay, that had we ſuch an evidence for any fact in *Pagan* hiſtory, an Author would be thought very unreaſonable who ſhould reject it. I believe you will be of my opinion, if you will peruſe, with other Authors, who have appeared in vindication of theſe letters as genuine, the additional arguments which have been made uſe of by the late famous and learned Dr. *Grabe*, in the ſecond volume of his *Spicilegium.*

SECTION II.

I. *What facts in the hiſtory of our Saviour might be taken notice of by* Pagan *Authors.*
II. *What particular facts are taken notice of, and by what* Pagan *Authors.*
III. *How* Celſus *repreſented our Saviour's miracles.*
IV. *The ſame repreſentation made of them by other unbelievers, and proved unreaſonable.*
V. *What facts in our Saviour's hiſtory not to be expected from* Pagan *writers.*

I. WE now come to conſider what undoubted authorities are extant among *Pagan* writers; and here we muſt premiſe, that ſome parts of our Saviour's hiſtory may be reaſonably expected from *Pagans.* I mean ſuch parts as might be known to thoſe who lived at a diſtance from *Judæa,* as well as to thoſe who were the followers and eye-witneſſes of *Chriſt.*

II. Such particulars are moſt of theſe which follow, and which are all atteſted by ſome one or other of thoſe heathen Authors, who lived in or near the age of our Saviour and his diſciples. *That* Auguſtus Cæſar *had ordered the whole empire to be cenſed or taxed,* which brought our Saviour's reputed parents to *Bethlehem:* This is mentioned by ſeveral *Roman* hiſtorians, as *Tacitus,*

tus, *Suetonius*, and *Dion*. *That a great light or a new ſtar appeared in the eaſt, which directed the wiſe men to our Saviour:* This is recorded by *Chalcidius*. *That* Herod, *the King of* Paleſtine, *ſo often mentioned in the* Roman *hiſtory, made a great ſlaughter of innocent children*, being ſo jealous of his ſucceſſor, that he put to death his own ſons on that account: This character of him is given by ſeveral hiſtorians, and this cruel fact mentioned by *Macrobius*, a heathen Author, who tells it as a known thing, without any mark of doubt upon it. *That our Saviour had been in* Egypt: This *Celſus*, though he raiſes a monſtrous ſtory upon it, is ſo far from denying, that he tells us our Saviour learned the arts of magic in that country. *That* Pontius Pilate *was Governor of* Judæa, *that our Saviour was brought in judgment before him, and by him condemned and crucified:* This is recorded by *Tacitus*. *That many miraculous cures and works out of the ordinary courſe of nature were wrought by him:* This is confeſſed by *Julian* the Apoſtate, *Porphyry*, and *Hierocles*, all of them not only *Pagans*, but profeſſed enemies and perſecutors of Chriſtianity. *That our Saviour foretold ſeveral things, which came to paſs according to his predictions:* This was atteſted by *Phlegon* in his annals, as we are aſſured by the learned *Origen* againſt *Celſus*. *That at the time when our Saviour died, there was a miraculous darkneſs and a great earthquake:* This is recorded by the ſame *Phlegon* the *Trallian*, who was likewiſe a *Pagan* and Freeman to *Adrian* the Emperor. We may here obſerve, that a native of *Trallium*, which was not ſituate at ſo great a diſtance from *Pale-*

ſtine, might very probably be informed of ſuch remarkable events as had paſſed among the *Jews* in the age immediately preceding his own times, ſince ſeveral of his countrymen with whom he had converſed, might have received a confuſed report of our Saviour before his crucifixion, and probably lived within the Shake of the earthquake, and the Shadow of the eclipſe, which are recorded by this Author. *That* Chriſt *was worſhipped as a God among the Chriſtians*; *that they would rather ſuffer death than blaſpheme him*; *that they received a ſacrament*, *and by it entered into a vow of abſtaining from ſin and wickedneſs*, conformable to the advice given by St. *Paul*; *that they had private aſſemblies of worſhip*, *and uſed to join together in Hymns*: This is the account which *Pliny* the younger gives of Chriſtianity in his days, about ſeventy years after the death of *Chriſt*, and which agrees in all its circumſtances with the accounts we have in holy writ, of the firſt ſtate of Chriſtianity after the crucifixion of our Bleſſed Saviour. *That St.* Peter, *whoſe miracles are many of them recorded in holy writ*, *did many wonderful works*, is owned by *Julian* the apoſtate, who therefore repreſents him as a great Magician, and one who had in his poſſeſſion a book of magical ſecrets left him by our Saviour. *That the devils or evil ſpirits were ſubject to them*, we may learn from *Porphyry*, who objects to Chriſtianity, that ſince *Jeſus* had begun to be worſhipped, *Æſculapius* and the reſt of the gods did no more converſe with men. Nay, *Celſus* himſelf affirms the ſame thing in effect, when he ſays, that the power which ſeemed to reſide in Chriſtians, proceeded from the uſe of certain names, and the invocation of certain dæmons. *Origen* remarks on this paſſage, that the Author doubtleſs hints at thoſe Chriſtians who put to flight evil ſpirits, and healed thoſe who were poſſeſſed with them; a fact which had been often ſeen, and which he himſelf had ſeen, as he declares in another part of his diſcourſe againſt *Celſus*. But at the ſame time he aſſures us, that this miraculous power was exerted by the uſe of no other name but that of *Jeſus*, to which were added ſeveral paſſages in his hiſtory, but nothing like any invocation to *Dæmons*.

III. *Celſus* was ſo hard ſet with the report of our Saviour's miracles, and the confident atteſtations concerning him, that though he often intimates he did not believe them to be true, yet knowing he might be ſilenced in ſuch an anſwer, provides himſelf with another retreat, when beated out of this; namely, that our Saviour was a magician. Thus he compares the feeding of ſo many thouſands at two different times with a few loaves and fiſhes, to the magical feaſts of thoſe *Egyptian* impoſtors, who would preſent their ſpectators with viſionary entertainments that had in them neither ſubſtance nor reality: which, by the way, is to ſuppoſe, that a hungry and fainting multitude were filled by an apparition, or ſtrengthned and refreſhed with ſhadows. He knew very well that there were ſo many witneſſes and actors, if I may call them ſuch, in theſe two miracles, that it was impoſſible to refute ſuch multitudes, who had doubtleſs ſufficiently ſpread the fame of them, and was therefore in this place forced to reſort to the other ſolution, that it was done by magic. It was not enough to ſay that a miracle which appeared to ſo many thouſand eye-witneſſes was a forgery of *Chriſt*'s diſciples, and therefore ſuppoſing them to be eye-witneſſes, he endeavours to ſhew how they might be deceived.

IV. The unconverted heathens, who were preſſed by the many authorities that confirmed our Saviour's miracles, as well as the unbelieving *Jews*, who had actually ſeen them, were driven to account for them after the ſame manner: For, to work by magic in the heathen way of ſpeaking, was in the language of the *Jews* to caſt out devils by *Beelzebub* the Prince of the devils. Our Saviour, who knew that unbelievers in all ages would put this perverſe interpretation on his miracles, has branded the malignity of thoſe men, who contrary to the dictates of their own hearts ſtarted ſuch an unreaſonable objection, as a blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and declared not only the guilt, but the puniſhment of ſo black a crime. At the ſame time he condeſcended to ſhew the vanity and emptineſs of this objection againſt his miracles, by repreſenting that they evidently tended to the deſtruction of thoſe powers, to whoſe aſſiſtance the enemies of his doctrine then aſcribed them. An argument, which, if duly weighed, renders the objection ſo very frivolous and groundleſs, that we may venture to call it even blaſphemy againſt common ſenſe. Would Magic endeavour to draw off the minds of men from the worſhip which was paid to ſtocks and ſtones, to give them an abhorrence of thoſe evil ſpirits who rejoiced in the moſt cruel ſacrifices, and in offerings of the greateſt impurity; and in ſhort to call upon mankind to exert their whole ſtrength in the love and adoration of that one Being, from whom they derived their exiſtence, and on whom only they were taught to depend every moment for the happineſs and continuance of it? Was it the buſineſs of magic to humanize our natures with compaſſion, forgiveneſs, and all the inſtances of the moſt extenſive charity? Would evil ſpirits contribute to make men ſober, chaſte, and temperate, and in a word to produce that reformation, which was wrought in the moral world by thoſe doctrines of our Saviour, that received their ſanction from his miracles? Nor is it poſſible to imagine, that evil ſpirits would enter into a combination with our Saviour to cut off all their correſpondence and intercourſe with mankind, and to prevent any for the future from addicting themſelves to thoſe rites and ceremonies, which had done them ſo much honour. We ſee the early effect which Chriſtianity had on the minds of men in this particular, by that number of books, which were filled with the ſecrets of magic, and made a ſacrifice to Chriſtianity by the converts mentioned in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles. We have likewiſe an eminent inſtance of the inconſiſtency of our Religion with magic, in the hiſtory of the famous *Aquila*. This Perſon, who was a kinſman of the Emperor *Trajan*, and likewiſe a man of great learning, notwithſtanding he had embraced Chriſtianity, could not be brought off from the ſtudies of magic, by the repeated admonitions of his fellow-chriſtians: ſo that at length they expelled him their ſociety, as rather chuſing to loſe the reputation of ſo conſiderable a Proſelyte, than communicate with one who dealt in ſuch dark and infernal practices. Beſides we may obſerve, that all the favourers of magic were the moſt profeſt and bitter enemies to the chriſtian religion. Not to mention *Simon Magus* and many others, I ſhall only take notice of thoſe two great perſecutors of chriſtianity, the Emperors *Adrian* and *Julian* the Apoſtate, both them initiated in the myſteries of divination, and skilled in all the depths of magic. I ſhall only add, that evil ſpirits cannot be ſuppoſed to have concurred in the eſtabliſhment of a religion which triumphed over them, drove them out of the places they poſſeſt, and diveſted them of their influence on mankind: nor would I mention this particular, though it be unanimouſly reported by all the ancient chriſtian Authors; did it not appear from the authorities above-cited, that this was a fact confeſt by heathens themſelves.

V. We now ſee what a multitude of *Pagan* teſtimonies may be produced for all thoſe remarkable paſſages, which might have been expected from them: and indeed of ſeveral, that, I believe, do more than anſwer your expectation, as they were not ſubjects in their own nature ſo expoſed to publick notoriety. It cannot be expected they ſhould mention particulars, which were tranſacted amongſt the Diſciples only, or among ſome few even of the Diſciples themſelves; ſuch as the transfiguration, the agony in the garden, the appearance of *Chriſt* after his reſurrection, and others of the like nature. It was impoſſible for a heathen author to relate theſe things; becauſe if he had believed them, he would no longer have been a heathen, and by that means his teſtimony would not have been thought of ſo much validity. Beſides, his very report of facts ſo favourable to Chriſtianity would have prompted men to ſay that he was probably tainted with their doctrine. We have a parallel caſe in *Hecatæus*, a famous *Greek* Hiſtorian, who had ſeveral paſſages in his book conformable to the hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* writers, which when quoted by *Joſephus*, as a confirmation of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory, when his heathen adverſaries could give no other anſwer to it, they would need ſuppoſe that *Hecatæus* was a *Jew* in his heart, though they had no other reaſon for it, but becauſe his hiſtory gave greater authority to the *Jewiſh* than the *Egyptian* Records.

SECTION III.

I. *Introduction to a ſecond liſt of* Pagan *Authors, who give teſtimony of our Saviour.*
II. *A paſſage concerning our Saviour, from a learned* Athenian.
III. *His converſion from* Paganiſm *to Chriſtianity makes his evidence ſtronger than if he had continued a* Pagan.
IV. *Of another* Athenian *Philoſopher converted to Chriſtianity.*
V. *Why their converſion, inſtead of weakening, ſtrengthens their evidence in defence of Chriſtianity.*
VI. *Their belief in our Saviour's hiſtory founded at firſt upon the principles of hiſtorical faith.*

VII. *Their teſtimonies extended to all the particulars of our Saviour's hiſtory,*

VIII. *As related by the four Evangeliſts.*

I. TO this liſt of heathen writers, who make mention of our Saviour, or touch upon any particulars of his life, I ſhall add thoſe Authors who were at firſt heathens, and afterwards converted to Chriſtianity; upon which account, as I ſhall here ſhew, their teſtimonies are to be looked upon as the more authentick. And in this liſt of evidences, I ſhall confine my ſelf to ſuch learned *Pagans* as came over to Chriſtianity in the three firſt centuries, becauſe thoſe were the times in which men had the beſt means of informing themſelves of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, and becauſe among the great number of Philoſophers who came in afterwards, under the reigns of chriſtian Emperors, there might be ſeveral who did it partly out of worldly motives.

II. Let us now ſuppoſe, that a learned heathen writer who lived within 60 years of our Saviour's crucifixion, after having ſhewn that falſe miracles were generally wrought in obſcurity, and before few or no witneſſes, ſpeaking of thoſe which were wrought by our Saviour, has the following paſſage. "But his works were always "ſeen, becauſe they were true, they were ſeen "by thoſe who were healed, and by thoſe who "were raiſed from the dead. Nay theſe perſons "who were thus healed, and raiſed, were ſeen "not only at the time of their being healed, and "raiſed, but long afterwards. Nay they were ſeen "not only all the while our Saviour was upon "earth, but ſurvived after his departure out of

" this world, nay ſome of them were living in
" our days.

III. I dare ſay you would look upon this as a glorious atteſtation for the cauſe of Chriſtianity, had it come from the hand of a famous *Athenian* Philoſopher. Theſe forementioned words however are actually the words of one who lived about ſixty Years after our Saviour's crucifixion, and was a famous Philoſopher in *Athens*: but it will be ſaid, he was a convert to Chriſtianity. Now conſider this matter impartially, and ſee if his teſtimony is not much more valid for that reaſon. Had he continued a *Pagan* Philoſopher, would not the world have ſaid that he was not ſincere in what he writ, or did not believe it; for, if ſo, would not they have told us he would have embraced Chriſtianity? This was indeed the caſe of this excellent man: he had ſo thoroughly examined the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, and the excellency of that religion which he taught, and was ſo entirely convinced of both, that he became a Proſelyte and died a Martyr.

IV. *Ariſtides* was an *Athenian* Philoſopher, at the ſame time, famed for his learning and wiſdom, but converted to Chriſtianity. As it cannot be queſtioned that he peruſed and approved the apology of *Quadratus*, in which is the paſſage juſt now cited, he joined with him in an apology of his own, to the ſame Emperor, on the ſame ſubject. This apology, tho' now loſt, was extant in the time of *Ado Viennenſis*, *A. D.* 870, and highly eſteemed by the moſt learned *Athenians*, as that Author witneſſes. It muſt have contained great arguments for the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, becauſe in it he aſſerted the divinity of our Saviour, which could not but engage him in the proof of his miracles.

V. I do allow that, generally ſpeaking, a man is not ſo acceptable and unqueſtioned an evidence in facts, which make for the advancement of his own party. But we muſt conſider that, in the caſe before us, the perſons to whom we appeal, were of an oppoſite party, till they were perſuaded of the truth of thoſe very facts, which they report. They bear evidence to a hiſtory in defence of Chriſtianity, the truth of which hiſtory was their motive to embrace Chriſtianity. They atteſt facts which they had heard while they were yet heathens, and had they not found reaſon to believe them, they would ſtill have continued heathens, and have made no mention of them in their writings.

VI. When a man is born under chriſtian Parents, and trained up in the profeſſion of that religion from a child, he generally guides himſelf by the rules of *Chriſtian Faith* in believing what is delivered by the Evangeliſts; but the learned *Pagans* of antiquity, before they became Chriſtians, were only guided by the common rules of *Hiſtorical Faith:* That is, they examined the nature of the evidence which was to be met with in common fame, tradition, and the writings of thoſe perſons who related them, together with the number, concurrence, veracity, and private characters of thoſe perſons; and being convinced upon all accounts that they had the ſame reaſon to believe the hiſtory of our Saviour, as that of any other perſon to which they themſelves were not actually eye-witneſſes, they were bound by all the rules of hiſtorical faith, and of right reaſon, to give credit to this hiſtory. This they did accordingly, and in conſequence of it publiſhed the ſame truths themſelves, ſuffered many afflictions, and very often death it ſelf, in the aſſertion of them. When I ſay, that an hiſtorical belief of the acts of our Saviour induced theſe learned *Pagans* to embrace his doctrine, I do not deny that there were many other motives, which conduced to it, as the excellency of his precepts, the fulfilling of prophecies, the miracles of his Diſciples, the irreproachable lives and magnanimous ſufferings of their followers, with other conſiderations of the ſame nature: but whatever other collateral arguments wrought more or leſs with Philoſophers of that age, it is certain that a belief in the hiſtory of our Saviour was one motive with every new convert, and that upon which all others turned, as being the very baſis and foundation of Chriſtianity.

VII. To this I muſt further add, that as we have already ſeen many particular facts which are recorded in holy writ, atteſted by particular *Pagan* Authors: the teſtimony of thoſe I am now going to produce, extends to the whole hiſtory of our Saviour, and to that continued ſeries of actions, which are related of him and his Diſciples in the books of the *New-Teſtament.*

VIII. This evidently appears from their quotations out of the Evangeliſts, for the confirmation of any doctrine or account of our bleſſed Saviour. Nay a learned man of our nation, who examined the writings of the moſt ancient Fathers in another view, refers to ſeveral paſſages in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, by which he plainly ſhows that each of theſe early writers aſcribe to the four Evangeliſts by name their reſpective hiſtories; ſo that there is not the leaſt room for doubting of their belief in the hiſtory of our Saviour, as recorded in the Goſpels. I ſhall add, that three of the five Fathers here mentioned, and probably four, were *Pagans* converted to Chriſtianity, as they were all of them very inquiſitive and deep in the knowledge of heathen learning and philoſophy.

SECTION IV.

I. *Character of the times in which the Chriſtian religion was propagated:*
II. *And of many who embraced it.*
III. *Three eminent and early inſtances.*
IV. *Multitudes of learned men who came over to it.*
V. *Belief in our Saviour's hiſtory, the firſt motive to their converſion.*
VI. *The names of ſeveral* Pagan *Philoſophers, who were Chriſtian converts.*

I. IT happened very providentially to the honour of the Chriſtian religion, that it did not take its riſe in the dark illiterate ages of the world, but at a time when arts and ſciences were at their height, and when there were men who made it the buſineſs of their lives to ſearch after truth, and ſift the ſeveral opinions of Philoſophers and wiſe men, concerning the duty, the end, and chief happineſs of reaſonable creatures.

II. Several of theſe therefore, when they had informed themſelves of our Saviour's hiſtory, and examined with unprejudiced minds the doctrines and manners of his diſciples and followers, were ſo ſtruck and convinced, that they profeſſed themſelves of that ſect; notwithſtanding, by this profeſſion in that juncture of time, they bid farewell to all the pleaſures of this life, renounced all the views of ambition, engaged in an uninterrupted courſe of ſeverities, and expoſed themſelves to publick hatred and contempt, to ſufferings of all kinds, and to death itſelf.

III. Of this ſort we may reckon thoſe three early converts to Chriſtianity, who each of them was a member of a Senate famous for its wiſdom and learning. *Joſeph* the *Arimathean* was of the *Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, *Dionyſius* of the *Athenian Areopagus*, and *Flavius Clemens* of the *Roman* Senate; nay at the time of his death Conſul of *Rome*. Theſe three were ſo throughly ſatisfied of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, that the firſt of them, according to all the reports of antiquity, died a martyr for it; as did the ſecond, unleſs we disbelieve *Ariſtides*, his fellow-citizen and contemporary; and the third, as we are informed both by *Roman* and Chriſtian Authors.

IV. Among thoſe innumerable multitudes, who in moſt of the known nations of the world came over to Chriſtianity at its firſt appearance, we may be ſure there were great numbers of wiſe and learned men, beſide thoſe whoſe names are in the Chriſtian records, who without doubt took care to examine the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, before they would leave the religion of their country and of their forefathers, for the ſake of one that would not only cut them off from the allurements of this world, but ſubject them to every thing terrible or diſagreeable in it. *Tertullian* tells the *Roman* Governors, that their corporations, councils, armies, tribes, companies, the palace, ſenate, and courts of judicature were filled with Chriſtians; as *Arnobius* aſſerts, that men of the fineſt parts and learning, Orators, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Lawyers, Phyſicians, Philoſophers, deſpiſing the ſentiments they had been once fond of, took up their reſt in the Chriſtian religion.

V. Who can imagine that men of this character did not thoroughly inform themſelves of the hiſtory of that perſon, whoſe doctrines they embraced? for however conſonant to reaſon his precepts appeared, how good ſoever were the effects which they produced in the world, nothing could have tempted men to acknowledge him as their God and Saviour, but their being firmly perſuaded of the miracles he wrought, and the many atteſtations of his divine miſſion, which were to be met with in the hiſtory of his life. This was the ground-work of the Chriſtian religion, and, if this failed, the whole ſuperſtructure ſunk with it. This point therefore, of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, as recorded by the Evangeliſts, is every where taken for granted in the writings of thoſe, who from *Pagan* Philoſophers became Chriſtian Authors, and who, by reaſon of their converſion, are to be looked upon as of the ſtrongeſt collateral teſtimony for the truth of what is delivered concerning our Saviour.

VI. Beſides innumerable Authors that are loſt, we have the undoubted names, works, or fragments of ſeveral *Pagan* Philoſophers, which ſhew them to have been as learned as any unconverted heathen Authors of the age in which they lived. If we look into the greateſt nurſeries of learning in thoſe ages of the world, we find in *Athens*, *Dionyſius*, *Quadratus*, *Ariſtides*, *Athenagoras*; and in *Alexandria*, *Dionyſius*, *Clemens*, *Ammonius*, *Arnobius*, and *Anatolius*, to whom we may add *Origen*; for though his father was a Chriſtian martyr, he became, without all controverſy, the moſt learned and able Philoſopher of his age, by his education at *Alexandria*, in that famous ſeminary of arts and ſciences.

SECTION V.

I. *The learned* Pagans *had means and opportunities of informing themſelves of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory*;
II. *From the proceedings*,
III. *The characters*, *ſufferings*,
IV. *And miracles of the perſons who publiſhed it.*
V. *How theſe firſt Apoſtles perpetuated their tradition*, *by ordaining perſons to ſucceed them.*
VI. *How their ſucceſſors in the three firſt centuries preſerved their tradition.*

VII. *That five generations might derive this tradition from* Chriſt, *to the end of the third century.*

VIII. *Four eminent Chriſtians that delivered it down ſucceſſively to the year of our Lord* 254.

IX. *The faith of the four above-mentioned perſons, the ſame with that of the Churches of the Eaſt, of the Weſt, and of* Egypt.

X. *Another perſon added to them, who brings us to the year* 343*; and that many other liſts might be added in as direct and ſhort a ſucceſſion.*

XI. *Why the tradition of the three firſt centuries, more authentick than that of any other age, proved from the converſation of the primitive Chriſtians.*

XII. *From the manner of initiating men into their religion.*

XIII. *From the correſpondence between the Churches.*

XIV. *From the long lives of ſeveral of* Chriſt's *Diſciples, of which two inſtances.*

I. IT now therefore only remains to conſider, whether theſe learned men had means and opportunities of informing themſelves of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory; for unleſs this point can be made out, their teſtimonies will appear invalid, and their enquiries ineffectual.

II. As to this point, we muſt conſider, that many thouſands had ſeen the tranſactions of our Saviour in *Judæa*, and that many hundred thouſands had received an account of them from the mouths of thoſe who were actually eye-witneſſes. I ſhall only mention among theſe eye-witneſſes the twelve Apoſtles, to whom we muſt add St. *Paul*, who had a particular call to this high office, though many other diſciples and followers of *Chriſt* had alſo their ſhare in the publiſhing this wonderful hiſtory. We learn from the ancient records of Chriſtianity, that many of the Apoſtles and Diſciples made it the expreſs buſineſs of their lives, travelled into the remoteſt parts of the world, and in all places gathered multitudes about them, to acquaint them with the hiſtory and doctrines of their crucified Maſter. And indeed, were all Chriſtian records of theſe proceedings entirely loſt, as many have been, the effect plainly evinces the truth of them; for how elſe during the Apoſtles lives could Chriſtianity have ſpread itſelf with ſuch an amazing progreſs through the ſeveral nations of the *Roman* empire? how could it fly like lightning, and carry conviction with it, from one end of the earth to the other?

III. Heathens therefore of every age, ſex, and quality, born in the moſt different climates, and bred up under the moſt different inſtitutions, when they ſaw men of plain ſenſe, without the help of learning, armed with patience and courage, inſtead of wealth, pomp, or power, expreſſing in their lives thoſe excellent doctrines of Morality, which they taught as delivered to them from our Saviour, averring that they had ſeen his miracles during his life, and converſed with him after his death; when, I ſay, they ſaw no ſuſpicion of falſhood, treachery, or worldly intereſt, in their behaviour and converſation, and that they ſubmitted to the moſt ignominious and cruel deaths, rather than retract their teſtimony, or even be ſilent in matters which they were to publiſh by their

Saviour's eſpecial command, there was no reaſon to doubt of the veracity of thoſe facts which they related, or of the Divine Miſſion in which they were employed.

IV. But even theſe motives to Faith in our Saviour would not have been ſufficient to have brought about in ſo few years ſuch an incredible number of converſions, had not the Apoſtles been able to exhibit ſtill greater proofs of the truths which they taught. A few perſons of an odious and deſpiſed country could not have filled the world with Believers, had they not ſhown undoubted credentials from the Divine perſon who ſent them on ſuch a meſſage. Accordingly we are aſſured, that they were inveſted with the power of working miracles, which was the moſt ſhort and the moſt convincing argument that could be produced, and the only one that was adapted to the reaſon of all mankind, to the capacities of the wiſe and ignorant, and could overcome every cavil and every prejudice. Who would not believe that our Saviour healed the ſick, and raiſed the dead, when it was publiſhed by thoſe who themſelves often did the ſame miracles, in their preſence, and in his name! Could any reaſonable perſon imagine, that God Almighty would arm men with ſuch powers to authorize a lye, and eſtabliſh a religion in the world which was diſpleaſing to him, or that evil ſpirits would lend them ſuch an effectual aſſiſtance to beat down vice and idolatry?

V. When the Apoſtles had formed many aſſemblies in ſeveral parts of the *Pagan* world, who gave credit to the glad tidings of the Goſpel, that, upon their departure, the memory of what they had related might not periſh, they appointed out of theſe new converts, men of the beſt ſenſe, and of the moſt unblemiſhed lives, to preſide over theſe ſeveral Aſſemblies, and to inculcate without ceaſing what they had heard from the mouths of theſe eye-witneſſes.

VI. Upon the death of any of thoſe ſubſtitutes to the Apoſtles and Diſciples of *Chriſt*, his place was filled up with ſome other perſon of eminence for his piety and learning, and generally a member of the ſame Church, who after his deceaſe was followed by another in the ſame manner, by which means the ſucceſſion was continued in an uninterrupted line. *Irenæus* informs us, that every church preſerved a catalogue of its Biſhops in the order that they ſucceeded one another, and (for an example) produces a catalogue of thoſe who governed the Church of *Rome* in that character, which contains eight or nine perſons, though but at a very ſmall remove from the times of the Apoſtles.

Indeed the liſts of Biſhops, which are come down to us in other churches, are generally filled with greater numbers than one would expect. But the ſucceſſion was quick in the three firſt centuries, becauſe the Biſhop very often ended in the Martyr: for when a perſecution aroſe in any place, the firſt fury of it fell upon this Order of holy men, who abundantly teſtified by their Deaths and Sufferings that they did not undertake theſe offices out of any temporal views, that they were ſincere and ſatisfied in the belief of what they taught, and that they firmly adhered to what they had received from the Apoſtles, as laying down their lives in the ſame hope, and upon the ſame principles. None can be ſuppoſed ſo utterly regardleſs of their own happineſs as to expire in torment, and hazard their Eternity, to ſupport any fables and inventions of their own, or any forgeries of their predeceſſors who had preſided in the ſame church, and which might have been eaſily detected by the tradition of that particular church, as well as by the concurring teſtimony of others. To this purpoſe, I think it is very remarkable, that there was not a ſingle Martyr among thoſe many Hereticks, who diſagreed with the Apoſtolical church, and introduced ſeveral wild and abſurd notions into the doctrines of Chriſtianity. They durſt not ſtake their preſent and future happineſs on their own chimerical imaginations, and did not only ſhun perſecution, but affirmed that it was unneceſſary for their followers to bear their religion through ſuch fiery tryals.

VII. We may fairly reckon, that this firſt age of Apoſtles and Diſciples, with that ſecond generation of many who were their immediate converts, extended itſelf to the middle of the ſecond Century, and that ſeveral of the third generation from theſe laſt mentioned, which was but the fifth from *Chriſt*, continued to the end of the third Century. Did we know the ages and numbers of the members in every particular church, which was planted by the Apoſtles, I doubt not but in moſt of them there might be found five perſons who in a continued ſeries would reach through theſe three centuries of years, that is till the 265th from the death of our Saviour.

VIII. Among the accounts of thoſe very few out of innumerable multitudes, who had embraced Chriſtianity, I ſhall ſingle out four perſons, eminent for their lives, their writings, and their ſufferings, that were ſucceſſively contemporaries, and bring us down as far as to the year of our Lord 254. St. *John*, who was the beloved Diſciple, and converſed the moſt intimately with our Saviour, lived till *Anno Dom.* 100. *Polycarp*, who was the Diſciple of St. *John*, and had converſed with others of the Apoſtles and Diſciples of our Lord, lived till *Anno Dom.* 167, though his life was ſhortened by martyrdom. *Irenæus*, who was the Diſciple of *Polycarp*, and had converſed with many of the immediate Diſciples of the Apoſtles, lived, at the loweſt computation of his age, till the year 202, when he was likewiſe cut off by martyrdom; in which year the great *Origen* was appointed Regent of the Catechetick ſchool in *Alexandria*, and as he was the miracle of that age, for induſtry, learning and philoſophy, he was looked upon as the champion of Chriſtianity, till the year 254, when, if he did not ſuffer martyrdom, as ſome think he did, he was certainly actuated by the ſpirit of it, as appears in the whole courſe of his life and writings; nay, he had often been put to the torture, and had undergone tryals worſe than death. As he converſed with the moſt eminent Chriſtians of his time in *Egypt*, and in the Eaſt, brought over multitudes both from hereſy and heatheniſm, and left behind him ſeveral Diſciples of great fame and learning, there is no queſtion but there were conſiderable numbers of thoſe who knew him, and had been his hearers, ſcholars, or proſelytes, that lived till the end of the third century, and to the reign of *Conſtantine* the Great.

IX. It is evident to thoſe, who read the lives and writings of *Polycarp*, *Irenæus*, and *Origen*, that theſe three Fathers believed the accounts which are given of our Saviour in the four Evangeliſts, and had undoubted arguments that not only St. *John*, but many others of our Saviour's diſciples, publiſhed the ſame accounts of him. To which we muſt ſubjoin this further remark, that what was believed by theſe Fathers on this ſubject, was likewiſe the belief of the main body of Chriſtians in thoſe ſucceſſive ages when they flouriſhed; ſince *Polycarp* cannot but be looked upon, if we conſider the reſpect that was paid him, as the repreſentative of the Eaſtern Churches in this particular, *Irenæus* of the Weſtern upon the ſame account, and *Origen* of thoſe eſtabliſhed in *Egypt*.

X. To theſe I might add *Paul* the famous hermite, who retired from the *Decian* perſecution five or ſix years before *Origen*'s death, and lived till the year 343. I have only diſcovered one of thoſe channels by which the hiſtory of our Saviour might be conveyed pure and unadulterated, through thoſe ſeveral ages that produced thoſe *Pagan* Philoſophers, whoſe teſtimonies I make uſe of for the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory. Some or other of theſe Philoſophers came into the Chriſtian faith during its infancy, in the ſeveral periods of theſe three firſt centuries, when they had ſuch means of informing themſelves in all the particulars of our Saviour's hiſtory. I muſt further add, that though I have here only choſen this ſingle link of martyrs, I might find out others among thoſe names which are ſtill extant, that delivered down this account of our Saviour in a ſucceſſive tradition, till the whole *Roman* empire became Chriſtian; as there is no queſtion but numberleſs ſeries of witneſſes might follow one another in the ſame order, and in as ſhort a chain, and that perhaps in every ſingle Church, had the names and ages of the moſt eminent primitive Chriſtians have been tranſmitted to us with the like certainty.

XI. But to give this conſideration more force, we muſt take notice, that the tradition of the firſt ages of Chriſtianity had ſeveral circumſtances peculiar to it, which made it more authentick than any other tradition in any other age of the world. The Chriſtians, who carried their religion through ſo many general and particular perſecutions, were inceſſantly comforting and ſupporting one another, with the example and hiſtory of our Saviour and his Apoſtles. It was the ſubject not only of their ſolemn aſſemblies, but of their private viſits and converſations. *Our virgins*, ſays *Tatian*, who lived in the ſecond century, *diſcourſe over their diſtaffs on divine ſubjects.* Indeed, when religion was woven into the civil government, and flouriſhed under the protection of the Emperors, men's thoughts and diſcourſes were, as they are now, full of ſecular affairs; but in the three firſt centuries of Chriſtianity, men, who embraced this religion, had given up all their intereſts in this world, and lived in a perpetual preparation for the next, as not knowing how ſoon they might be called to it: ſo that they had little elſe to talk of but the life and doctrines of that divine perſon, which was their hope, their encouragement, and their glory. We cannot therefore imagine, that there was a ſingle perſon arrived at any degree of age or conſideration, who had not heard and repeated above a thouſand times in his life, all the particulars of our Saviour's birth, life, death, reſurrection, and aſcenſion.

XII. Eſpecially if we conſider, that they could not then be received as Chriſtians, till they had undergone ſeveral examinations. Perſons of riper years, who flocked daily into the Church during the three firſt centuries, were obliged to paſs through many repeated inſtructions, and give a ſtrict account of their proficiency, before they were admitted to Baptiſm. And as for thoſe who were born of Chriſtian parents, and had been baptiſed in their infancy, they were with the like care prepared and diſciplined for confirmation, which they could not arrive at, till they were found upon examination to have made a ſufficient progreſs in the knowledge of Chriſtianity.

XIII. We muſt further obſerve, that there was not only in thoſe times this religious converſation among private Chriſtians, but a conſtant correſpondence between the Churches that were eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles or their ſucceſſors, in the ſeveral parts of the world. If any new doctrine was ſtarted, or any fact reported of our Saviour, a ſtrict enquiry was made among the Churches, eſpecially thoſe planted by the Apoſtles themſelves, whether they had received any ſuch doctrine or account of our Saviour, from the mouths of the Apoſtles, or the tradition of thoſe Chriſtians, who had preceded the preſent members of the Churches which were thus conſulted. By this means, when any novelty was publiſhed, it was immediately detected and cenſured.

XIV. St. *John*, who lived ſo many years after our Saviour, was appealed to in theſe emergencies as the living Oracle of the Church; and as his oral teſtimony laſted the firſt century, many have obſerved that, by a particular providence of God, ſeveral of our Saviour's Diſciples, and of the early converts of his religion, lived to a very great age, that they might perſonally convey the truth of the Goſpel to thoſe times, which were very remote from the firſt publication of it. Of theſe, beſides St. *John*, we have a remarkable inſtance in *Simeon*, who was one of the ſeventy ſent forth by our Saviour, to publiſh the Goſpel before his crucifixion, and a near kinſman of the Lord. This venerable perſon, who had probably heard with his own ears our Saviour's prophecy of the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, preſided over the Church eſtabliſhed in that city, during the time of its memorable ſiege, and drew his congregation out of thoſe dreadful and unparallel'd calamities which befel his countrymen, by following the advice our Saviour had given, when they ſhould ſee *Jeruſalem* encompaſſed with armies, and the *Roman* ſtandards, or abomination of deſolation, ſet up. He lived till the year of our Lord 107, when he was martyred under the Emperor *Trajan*.

SECTION VI.

I. *The tradition of the Apoſtles ſecured by other excellent inſtitutions;*
II. *But chiefly by the writings of the Evangeliſts.*
III. *The diligence of the Diſciples and firſt Chriſtian converts, to ſend abroad theſe writings.*
IV. *That the written account of our Saviour was the ſame with that delivered by tradition:*
V. *Proved from the reception of the Goſpel by thoſe Churches which were eſtabliſhed before it was written.*
VI. *From the uniformity of what was believed in the ſeveral Churches.*
VII. *From a remarkable paſſage in* Irenæus.
VIII. *Records which are now loſt, of uſe to the three firſt centuries, for confirming the hiſtory of our Saviour.*
IX. *Inſtances of ſuch records.*

I. THUS far we ſee how the learned *Pagans* might apprize themſelves from oral information of the particulars of our Saviour's hiſtory. They could hear, in every Church planted in every diſtant part of the earth, the account which was there received and preſerved among them, of the hiſtory of our Saviour. They could learn the names and characters of thoſe firſt miſſionaries that brought to them theſe accounts, and the miracles by which God Almighty atteſted their reports. But the Apoſtles and Diſciples of *Chriſt*, to preſerve the hiſtory of his life, and to ſecure their accounts of him from error and oblivion, did not only ſet aſide certain perſons for that purpoſe, as has been already ſhewn, but appropriated certain days to the commemoration of thoſe facts which they had related concerning him. The firſt day of the week was in all its returns a perpetual memorial of his reſurrection, as the devotional exerciſes adapted to *Friday* and *Saturday*, were to denote to all ages that he was crucified on the one of thoſe days, and that he reſted in the grave on the other. You may apply the ſame remark to ſeveral of the annual feſtivals inſtituted by the Apoſtles themſelves, or at furtheſt by their immediate Succeſſors, in memory of the moſt important particulars in our Saviour's hiſtory; to which we muſt add the Sacraments inſtituted by our Lord himſelf, and many of thoſe rites and ceremonies which obtained in the moſt early times of the Church. Theſe are to be regarded as ſtanding marks of ſuch facts as were delivered by thoſe, who were eye-witneſſes to them, and which were contrived with great wiſdom to laſt till time ſhould be no more. Theſe, without any other means, might have, in ſome meaſure, conveyed to poſterity, the memory of ſeveral tranſactions in the hiſtory of our Saviour, as they were related by his Diſciples. At leaſt, the reaſon of theſe inſtitutions, though they might be forgotten, and obſcured by a long courſe of years, could not but be very well known by thoſe who lived in the three firſt Centuries, and a means of informing the inquiſitive

Pagans in the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, that being the view in which I am to conſider them.

II. But leaſt ſuch a tradition, though guarded by ſo many expedients, ſhould wear out by the length of time, the four Evangeliſts within about fifty, or, as *Theodoret* affirms, thirty years, after our Saviour's death, while the memory of his actions was freſh among them, conſigned to writing that hiſtory, which for ſome years had been publiſhed only by the mouth of the Apoſtles and Diſciples. The further conſideration of theſe holy penmen will fall under another part of this diſcourſe.

III. It will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that in the age which ſucceeded the Apoſtles, many of their immediate Diſciples ſent or carrried in perſon the books of the four Evangeliſts, which had been written by Apoſtles, or at leaſt approved by them, to moſt of the Churches which they had planted in the different parts of the world. This was done with ſo much diligence, that when *Pantænus*, a man of great learning and piety, had travelled into *India* for the propagation of Chriſtianity, about the year of our Lord 200, he found among that remote people the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, which upon his return from that country he brought with him to *Alexandria*. This Goſpel is generally ſuppoſed to have been left in thoſe parts by St. *Bartholomew* the Apoſtle of the *Indies*, who probably carried it with him before the writings of the three other Evangeliſts were publiſh'd.

IV. That the hiſtory of our Saviour, as recorded by the Evangeliſts, was the ſame with that which had been before delivered by the Apoſtles and Diſciples, will further appear in the proſecution of this diſcourſe, and may be gathered from the following conſiderations.

V. Had theſe writings differed from the ſermons of the firſt planters of Chriſtianity, either in hiſtory or doctrine, there is no queſtion but they would have been rejected by thoſe Churches which they had already formed. But ſo conſiſtent and uniform was the relation of the Apoſtles, that theſe hiſtories appeared to be nothing elſe but their tradition and oral atteſtations made fixt and permanent. Thus was the fame of our Saviour, which in ſo few years had gone through the whole earth, confirmed and perpetuated by ſuch records, as would preſerve the traditionary account of him to after-ages; and rectifie it, if at at any time, by paſſing through ſeveral generations, it might drop any part that was material, or contract any thing that was falſe or fictitious.

VI. Accordingly we find the ſame *Jeſus Chriſt*, who was born of a Virgin, who had wrought many miracles in *Paleſtine*, who was crucified, roſe again, and aſcended into Heaven; I ſay, the ſame *Jeſus Chriſt* had been preached, and was worſhipped, in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Great-Britain*, in *Parthia*, *Media*, *Meſopotamia*, *Armenia*, *Phrygia*, *Aſia*, and *Pamphylia*, in *Italy*, *Egypt*, *Afric*, and beyond *Cyrene*, *India* and *Perſia*, and, in ſhort, in all the iſlands and provinces that are viſited by the riſing or ſetting ſun. The ſame account of our Saviour's life and doctrine was delivered by thouſands of Preachers, and believed in thouſands of places, who all, as faſt as it could be conveyed to them, received the ſame account in writing from the four Evangeliſts.

VII. *Irenæus* to this purpoſe very aptly remarks, that thoſe barbarous nations, who in his time were not poſſeſt of the written goſpels, and had only learned the hiſtory of our Saviour from thoſe who had converted them to Chriſtianity before the Goſpels were written, had among them the ſame accounts of our Saviour, which are to be met with in the four Evangeliſts. An unconteſtible proof of the harmony and concurrence between the holy ſcripture and the tradition of the Churches in thoſe early times of Chriſtianity.

VIII. Thus we ſee what opportunities the learned and inquiſitive heathens had of informing themſelves of the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, during the three firſt Centuries, eſpecially as they lay nearer one than another to the fountain-head: beſide which, there were many uncontroverted traditions, records of Chriſtianity, and particular hiſtories, that then threw light into theſe matters, but are now entirely loſt, by which, at that time, any appearance of contradiction, or ſeeming difficulties, in the hiſtory of the Evangeliſts, were fully cleared up and explained: though we meet with fewer appearances of this nature in the hiſtory of our Saviour, as related by the four Evangeliſts, than in the accounts of any other perſon, publiſhed by ſuch a number of different hiſtorians who lived at ſo great a diſtance from the preſent age.

IX. Among thoſe records which are loſt, and were of great uſe to the primitive Chriſtians, is the letter to *Tiberius*, which I have already mentioned;

tioned; that of *Marcus Aurelius*, which I ſhall take notice of hereafter; the writings of *Hegeſippus*, who had drawn down the hiſtory of Chriſtianity to his own time, which was not beyond the middle of the ſecond Century; the genuine *Sibylline* oracles, which in the firſt ages of the Church were eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the ſpurious; the records preſerved in particular Churches, with many other of the ſame nature.

SECTION VII.

I. *The ſight of miracles in thoſe ages a further confirmation of* Pagan *Philoſophers in the Chriſtian faith.*
II. *The credibility of ſuch miracles.*
III. *A particular inſtance.*
IV. *Martyrdom, why conſidered as a ſtanding miracle.*
V. *Primitive Chriſtians thought many of the Martyrs were ſupported by a miraculous power:*
VI. *Proved from the nature of their ſufferings.*
VII. *How Martyrs further induced the* Pagans *to embrace Chriſtianity.*

I. THERE were other means, which I find had a great influence on the learned of the three firſt Centuries, to create and confirm in them the belief of our bleſſed Saviour's hiſtory, which ought not to be paſſed over in ſilence. The firſt was, the opportunity they enjoyed of examining thoſe miracles, which were on ſeveral occaſions performed by Chriſtians, and appeared in the Church, more or leſs, during theſe firſt ages of Chriſtianity. Theſe had great weight with the men I am now ſpeaking of, who, from learned *Pagans*, became fathers of the Church; for they frequently boaſt of them in their writings, as atteſtations given by God himſelf to the truth of their religion.

II. At the ſame time, that theſe learned men declare how diſingenuous, baſe and wicked it would be, how much beneath the dignity of Philoſophy, and contrary to the precepts of Chriſtianity, to utter falſhoods or forgeries in the ſupport of a cauſe, though never ſo juſt in it ſelf, they confidently aſſert this miraculous power, which then ſubſiſted in the Church, nay, tell us that they themſelves had been eye-witneſſes of it at ſeveral times, and in ſeveral inſtances; nay, appeal to the heathens themſelves for the truth of ſeveral facts they relate, nay challenge them to be preſent at their aſſemblies, and ſatisfy themſelves, if they doubt of it; nay we find that *Pagan* Authors have in ſome inſtances confeſſed this miraculous power.

III. The letter of *Marcus Aurelius*, whoſe army was preſerved by a refreſhing ſhower, at the ſame time that his enemies were diſcomfited by a ſtorm of lightning, and which the heathen hiſtorians themſelves allow to have been ſupernatural and the effect of magic: I ſay, this letter, which aſcribed this unexpected aſſiſtance to the prayers of the Chriſtians, who then ſerved in the army, would have been thought an unqueſtionable teſtimony of the miraculous power I am ſpeaking of, had it been ſtill preſerved. It is ſufficient for me in this Place to take notice, that this was one of thoſe miracles which had its influence on the learned Converts, becauſe it is related by *Tertullian*, and the very letter appealed to. When theſe learned men ſaw ſickneſs and frenzy cured, the dead raiſed, the oracles put to ſilence, the *Dæmons* and evil ſpirits forced to confeſs themſelves no Gods, by perſons who only made uſe of prayer and adjurations in the name of their crucified Saviour; how could they doubt of their Saviour's power on the like occaſions, as repreſented to them by the traditions of the Church, and the writings of the Evangeliſts?

IV. Under this head, I cannot omit that which appears to me a ſtanding miracle in the three firſt Centuries, I mean that amazing and ſupernatural courage or patience, which was ſhewn by innumerable multitudes of Martyrs, in thoſe ſlow and painful torments that were inflicted on them. I cannot conceive a man placed in the burning iron chair at *Lyons*, amid the inſults and mockeries of a crouded Amphitheatre, and ſtill keeping his ſeat; or ſtretched upon a grate of iron, over coals of fire, and breathing out his ſoul among the exquiſite ſufferings of ſuch a tedious execution, rather than renounce his religion, or blaſpheme his Saviour. Such tryals ſeem to me above the ſtrength of human nature, and able to over-bear duty, reaſon, faith, conviction, nay, and the moſt abſolute certainty of a future ſtate. Humanity, unaſſiſted in an extraordinary manner, muſt have ſhaken off the preſent preſſure, and have deliver'd it ſelf out of ſuch a dreadful diſtreſs, by any means that could have been ſuggeſted to it. We can eaſily imagine, that many perſons, in ſo good a cauſe, might have laid down their lives at the gibbet, the ſtake, or the block: but to expire leiſurely among the moſt exquiſite tortures, when they might come out of them, even by a mental reſervation, or an hypocriſy which was not without a poſſibility of being followed by repentance and forgiveneſs, has ſomething in it, ſo far beyond the force and natural ſtrength of mortals, that one cannot but think there was ſome miraculous power to ſupport the ſufferer.

V. We find the Church of *Smyrna*, in that admirable letter which gives an account of the death of *Polycarp* their beloved Biſhop, mentioning the cruel torments of other early Martyrs for Chriſtianity, are of opinion, that our Saviour ſtood by them in a viſion, and perſonally converſed with them, to give them ſtrength and comfort during the bitterneſs of their long-continued agonies; and we have the ſtory of a young man, who, having ſuffered many tortures, eſcaped with life, and told his fellow-chriſtians, that the pain of them had been rendered tolerable, by the preſence of an Angel who ſtood by him, and wiped off the tears and ſweat, which ran down his face whilſt he lay under his ſufferings. We are aſſured at leaſt that the firſt Martyr for Chriſtianity was encouraged in his laſt moments, by a viſion of that divine perſon, for whom he ſuffered, and into whoſe preſence he was then haſtening.

VI. Let any man calmly lay his hand upon his heart, and after reading theſe terrible conflicts in which the ancient Martyrs and Confeſſors were engaged, when they paſſed through ſuch new inventions and varieties of pain, as tired their tormentors; and ask himſelf, however zealous and ſincere he is in his religion, whether under ſuch acute and lingring tortures he could ſtill have held faſt his integrity, and have profeſſed his faith to the laſt, without a ſupernatural aſſiſtance of ſome kind or other. For my part, when I conſider that it was not an unaccountable obſtinacy in a ſingle man, or in any particular ſett of men, in ſome extraordinary juncture; but that there were multitudes of each ſex, of every age, of different countries and conditions, who for near 300 years together made this glorious confeſſion of their faith, in the midſt of tortures, and in the hour of death: I muſt conclude, that they were either of another make than men are at preſent, or that they had ſuch miraculous ſupports as were peculiar to thoſe times of Chriſtianity, when without them perhaps the very name of it might have been extinguiſhed.

VII. It is certain, that the deaths and ſufferings of the primitive Chriſtians had a great ſhare in the converſion of thoſe learned *Pagans*, who lived in the ages of Perſecution, which with ſome intervals and abatements laſted near 300 years after our Saviour. *Juſtin Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, and others, tell us, that this firſt of all alarmed their curioſity, rouſed their attention, and made them ſeriouſly inquiſitive into the nature of that religion, which could endue the mind with ſo much ſtrength, and overcome the fear of death, nay raiſe an earneſt deſire of it, though it appeared in all its terrors. This they found had not been effected by all the doctrines of thoſe Philoſophers, whom they had thoroughly ſtudied, and who had been labouring at this great point. The ſight of theſe dying and tormented Martyrs engaged them to ſearch into the hiſtory and doctrines of him for whom they ſuffered. The more they ſearched, the more they were convinced; till their conviction grew ſo ſtrong, that they themſelves embraced the ſame truths, and either actually laid down their lives, or were always in a readineſs to do it, rather than depart from them.

SECTION VIII.

I. *The completion of our Saviour's prophecies confirmed* Pagans *in their belief of the Goſpel.*
II. Origen's *obſervation on that of his Diſciples being brought before Kings and Governours.*
III. *On their being perſecuted for their religion;*
IV. *On their preaching the Goſpel to all nations;*
V. *On the deſtruction of* Jeruſalem, *and ruin of the* Jewiſh *oeconomy.*
VI. *Theſe arguments ſtrengthened by what has happened ſince* Origen's *time.*

I. THE ſecond of thoſe extraordinary means, of great uſe to the learned and inquiſitive *Pagans* of the three firſt Centuries, for evincing the truth of the hiſtory of our Saviour, was the completion of ſuch prophecies as are recorded of him in the Evangeliſts. They could not indeed form any arguments from what he foretold, and was fulfilled during his life, becauſe both the prophecy and the completion were over before they were publiſhed by the Evangeliſts; though, as *Origen* obſerves, what end could there be in forging ſome of theſe predictions, as that of St. *Peter*'s denying his maſter, and all his Diſciples forſaking him in the greateſt extremity, which reflects ſo much ſhame on the great Apoſtle, and on all his companions? Nothing but a ſtrict adherence to truth, and to matters of fact, could have prompted the Evangeliſts to relate a circumſtance ſo diſadvantageous to their own reputation; as that Father has well obſerved.

II. But to purſue his reflections on this Subject. There are predictions of our Saviour recorded by the Evangeliſts, which were not completed till after their deaths, and had no likelihood of being ſo, when they were pronounced by our bleſſed Saviour. Such was that wonderful notice he gave them, that they ſhould be brought before Governours and Kings for his ſake, for a teſtimony againſt them and the *Gentiles*, *Mat.* 10. 28. with the other like prophecies, by which he foretold that his Diſciples were to be perſecuted. Is there any other doctrine in the world, ſays this Father, whoſe followers are puniſhed? Can the enemies of *Chriſt* ſay, that he knew his opinions were falſe and impious, and that therefore he might well conjecture and foretell what would be the treatment of thoſe perſons who ſhould embrace them? Suppoſing his doctrines were really ſuch, why ſhould this be the conſequence? what likelihood that men ſhould be brought before Kings and Governours for opinions and tenets of any kind, when this never happened even to the *Epicureans*, who abſolutely denied a Providence; nor to the *Peripateticks* themſelves, who laughed at the prayers and ſacrifices which were made to the Divinity? Are there any but the Chriſtians who, according to this prediction of our Saviour, being brought before Kings and Governours for his ſake, are preſſed to their lateſt gaſp of breath, by their reſpective judges, to renounce Chriſtianity, and to procure their liberty and reſt, by offering the ſame ſacrifices, and taking the ſame oaths that others did?

III. Conſider the time when our Saviour pronounced thoſe words, Matt. 10. 32. *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him will I confeſs alſo before my Father which is in heaven: but whoſoever ſhall deny me before men, him will I alſo deny before my Father which is in heaven.* Had you heard him ſpeak after this manner, when as yet his Diſciples were under no ſuch tryals, you would certainly have ſaid within your ſelf, If theſe ſpeeches of *Jeſus* are true, and if, according to his prediction, Governours and Kings undertake to ruin and deſtroy thoſe who ſhall profeſs themſelves his Diſciples, we will believe (not only that he is a Prophet) but that he has received power from God ſufficient to preſerve and propagate his religion; and that he would never talk in ſuch a peremptory and diſcouraging manner, were he not aſſured that he was able to ſubdue the moſt powerful oppoſition, that could be made againſt the faith and doctrine which he taught.

IV. Who is not ſtruck with admiration, when he repreſents to himſelf our Saviour at that time foretelling, that his Goſpel ſhould be preached in all the world, for a witneſs unto all nations, or as St. *Origen* (who rather quotes the ſenſe than the words) to ſerve for a conviction to Kings and people, when at the ſame time he finds that his Goſpel has accordingly been preached to *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, to the learned and to the ignorant, and that there is no quality or condition of life able to exempt men from ſubmitting to the doctrine of *Chriſt*. As for us, ſays this great Author, in another part of his book againſt *Celſus*? "When we ſee every day "thoſe events exactly accompliſhed which our "Saviour foretold at ſo great a diſtance: That "his Goſpel is preached in all the world, *Matthew* 24. 14. That his Diſciples go and teach "all nations, *Matthew* 28. 19. And that thoſe, "who have received his doctrine, are brought "for his ſake before Governours, and before "Kings, *Matthew* 10. 18. we are filled with "admiration, and our faith in him is confirmed "more and more. What clearer and ſtronger "proofs can *Celſus* ask for the truth of what he "ſpoke?

V. *Origen* inſiſts likewiſe with great ſtrength on that wonderful prediction of our Saviour, concerning the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, pronounced at a time, as he obſerves, when there was no likelihood nor appearance of it. This has been taken notice of and inculcated by ſo many others, that I ſhall refer you to what this Father has ſaid on the ſubject in the firſt book againſt *Celſus*. And as to the accompliſhment of this remarkable prophecy, ſhall only obſerve, that whoever reads the account given us by *Joſephus*, without knowing his character, and compares it with what our Saviour foretold, would think the hiſtorian had been a Chriſtian, and that he had nothing elſe in view but to adjuſt the event to the prediction.

VI. I cannot quit this head without taking notice, that *Origen* would ſtill have triumphed more in the foregoing arguments, had he lived an age longer, to have ſeen the *Roman* Emperors, and all their Governors and provinces, ſubmitting themſelves to the Chriſtian religion, and glorying in its profeſſion, as ſo many Kings and Soveraigns ſtill place their relation to *Chriſt* at the head of their titles.

How much greater confirmation of his faith would he have received, had he ſeen our Saviour's prophecy ſtand good in the deſtruction of the temple, and the diſſolution of the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy, when *Jews* and *Pagans* united all their endeavours under *Julian* the Apoſtate, to baffle and falſifie the prediction? The great preparations that were made for rebuilding the temple, with the hurricane, earthquake, and eruptions of fire, that deſtroyed the work, and terrified thoſe employed in the attempt from proceeding in it, are related by many hiſtorians of the ſame age, and the ſubſtance of the ſtory teſtified both by *Pagan* and *Jewiſh* writers, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Zemath-David.* The learned *Chryſoſtome*, in a ſermon againſt the *Jews*, tells them this fact was then freſh in the memories even of their young men, that it happened but twenty years ago, and that it was atteſted by all the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, where they might ſtill ſee the marks of it in the rubbiſh of that work, from which the *Jews* deſiſted in ſo great a fright, and which even *Julian* had not the courage to carry on. This fact, which is in it ſelf ſo miraculous, and ſo indiſputable, brought over many of the *Jews* to Chriſtianity; and ſhows us, that after our Saviour's prophecy againſt it, the temple could not be preſerved from the plough paſſing over it, by all the care of *Titus*, who would fain have prevented its deſtruction, and that inſtead of being re-edified by *Julian*, all his endeavours towards it did but ſtill more literally accompliſh our Saviour's prediction, that not one ſtone ſhould be left upon another.

The antient Chriſtians were ſo entirely perſuaded of the force of our Saviour's prophecies and of the puniſhment which the *Jews* had drawn upon themſelves, and upon their children, for the treatment which the *Meſſiah* had received at their hands, that they did not doubt but they would always remain an abandoned and diſperſed people, an hiſſing and an aſtoniſhment among the nations, as they are to this day. In ſhort, that they had loſt their peculiarity of being God's people, which was now transferred to the body of Chriſtians, and which preſerved the Church of *Chriſt* among all the conflicts, difficulties and perſecutions, in which it was engaged, as it had preſerved the *Jewiſh* government and œconomy for ſo many ages, whilſt it had the ſame truth and vital principle in it, notwithſtanding it was ſo frequently in danger of being utterly aboliſhed and deſtroyed. *Origen*, in his fourth book againſt *Celſus*, mentioning their being caſt out of *Jeruſalem*, the place to which their worſhip was annexed, deprived of their temple and ſacrifice, their religious rites and ſolemnities, and ſcattered over the face of the earth, ventures to aſſure them with a face of confidence, that they would never be re-eſtabliſhed, ſince they had committed that horrid crime againſt the Saviour of the world. This was a bold aſſertion in the good man, who knew how this people had been ſo wonderfully re-eſtabliſhed in former times, when they were almoſt ſwallowed up, and in the moſt deſperate ſtate of deſolation, as in their deliverance out of the *Babyloniſh* captivity, and the oppreſſions of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Nay, he knew that within leſs than a hundred years before his own time, the *Jews* had made ſuch a powerful effort for their re-eſtabliſhment under *Barchocab*, in the reign of *Adrian*, as ſhook the whole *Roman* empire. But he founded his opinion on a ſure word of prophecy, and on the puniſhment they had ſo juſtly incurred; and we find, by a long experience of 1500 years, that he was not miſtaken, nay that his opinion gathers ſtrength daily, ſince the *Jews* are now at a greater diſtance from any probability of ſuch a re-eſtabliſhment, than they were when *Origen* wrote.

SECTION IX.

I. *The lives of primitive Chriſtians, another means of bringing learned* Pagans *into their religion.*
II. *The change and reformation of their manners.*
III. *This looked upon as ſupernatural by the learned* Pagans,
IV. *And ſtrengthened the accounts given of our Saviour's life and hiſtory.*
V. *The* Jewiſh *prophecies of our Saviour, an argument for the heathens belief:*
VI. *Purſued:*
VII. *Purſued.*

I. THERE was one other means enjoyed by the learned *Pagans* of the three firſt centuries, for ſatisfying them in the truth of our Saviour's hiſtory, which I might have flung under one of the foregoing heads; but as it is ſo ſhining a particular, and does ſo much honour to our religion, I ſhall make a diſtinct article of it, and only conſider it with regard to the ſubject I am upon: I mean the lives and manners of thoſe holy men, who believed in *Chriſt* during the firſt ages of Chriſtianity. I ſhould be thought to advance a paradox, ſhould I affirm that there were More Chriſtians in the world during thoſe times of perſecution, than there are at preſent in theſe which we call the flouriſhing times of Chriſtianity. But this will be found an indiſputable truth, if we form our calculation upon the opinions which prevailed in thoſe days, that every one who lives in the habitual practice of any voluntary ſin, actually cuts himſelf off from the benefits and profeſſion of Chriſtianity, and whatever he may call himſelf, is in reality no Chriſtian, nor ought to be eſteemed as ſuch.

II. In the times we are now ſurveying, the Chriſtian religion ſhowed its full force and efficacy on the minds of men, and by many examples demonſtrated what great and generous ſouls it was capable of producing. It exalted and refined its proſelytes to a very high degree of perfection, and ſet them far above the pleaſures, and even the pains, of this life. It ſtrengthened the infirmity, and broke the fierceneſs of human nature. It lifted up the minds of the ignorant to the knowledge and worſhip of him that made them, and inſpired the vicious with a rational devotion, a ſtrict purity of heart, and an unbounded love to their fellow-creatures. In proportion as it ſpread through the world, it ſeemed to change mankind into another ſpecies of Beings. No ſooner was a convert initiated into it, but by an eaſy figure he became a New Man, and both acted and looked upon himſelf as one regenerated and born a ſecond time into another ſtate of exiſtence.

III. It is not my buſineſs to be more particular in the accounts of primitive Chriſtianity, which have been exhibited ſo well by others, but rather to obſerve, that the *Pagan* converts, of whom I am now ſpeaking, mention this great reformation of thoſe who had been the greateſt ſinners,

ners, with that ſudden and ſurpriſing change which it made in the lives of the moſt profligate, as having ſomething in it ſupernatural, miraculous, and more than human. *Origen* repreſents this power in the Chriſtian religion, as no leſs wonderful than that of curing the lame and blind, or cleanſing the leper. Many others repreſent it in the ſame light, and looked upon it as an argument that there was a certain divinity in that religion, which ſhowed it ſelf in ſuch ſtrange and glorious effects.

IV. This therefore was a great means not only of recommending Chriſtianity to honeſt and learned heathens, but of confirming them in the belief of our Saviour's hiſtory, when they ſaw multitudes of virtuous men daily forming themſelves upon his example, animated by his precepts, and actuated by that Spirit which he had promiſed to ſend among his Diſciples.

V. But I find no argument made a ſtronger impreſſion on the minds of theſe eminent *Pagan* converts, for ſtrengthening their faith in the hiſtory of our Saviour, than the predictions relating to him in thoſe old prophetick writings, which were depoſited among the hands of the greateſt enemies to Chriſtianity, and owned by them to have been extant many ages before his appearance. The learned heathen converts were aſtoniſhed to ſee the whole hiſtory of their Saviour's life publiſhed before he was born, and to find that the Evangeliſts and Prophets, in their accounts of the *Meſſiah*, differed only in point of time, the one foretelling what ſhould happen to him, and the other deſcribing thoſe very particulars as what had actually happened. This our

Saviour himſelf was pleaſed to make uſe of as the ſtrongeſt argument of his being the promiſed *Meſſiah*, and without it would hardly have reconciled his Diſciples to the ignominy of his death, as in that remarkable paſſage which mentions his converſation with the two Diſciples, on the day of his reſurrection. St. *Luke*, chap. 24. verſe 13. to the end.

VI. The heathen converts, after having travelled through all human learning, and fortified their minds with the knowledge of arts and ſciences, were particularly qualified to examine theſe prophecies with great care and impartiality, and without prejudice or prepoſſeſſion. If the *Jews* on the one ſide put an unnatural interpretation on theſe prophecies, to evade the force of them in their controverſies with the Chriſtians; or if the Chriſtians on the other ſide over-ſtrained ſeveral paſſages in their applications of them, as it often happens among men of the beſt underſtanding, when their minds are heated with any conſideration that bears a more than an ordinary weight with it: the learned Heathens may be looked upon as neuters in the matter, when all theſe prophecies were new to them, and their education had left the interpretation of them free and indifferent. Beſides, theſe learned men among the primitive Chriſtians, knew how the *Jews*, who had preceded our Saviour, interpreted theſe predictions, and the ſeveral marks by which they acknowledged the *Meſſiah* would be diſcovered, and how thoſe of the *Jewiſh* Doctors who ſucceeded him, had deviated from the interpretations and doctrines of their forefathers, on purpoſe to ſtifle their own conviction.

VII. This ſett of arguments had therefore an invincible force with thoſe *Pagan* Philoſophers who became Chriſtians, as we find in moſt of their writings. They could not diſbelieve our Saviour's hiſtory, which ſo exactly agreed with every thing that had been written of him many ages before his birth, nor doubt of thoſe circumſtances being fulfilled in him, which could not be true of any perſon that lived in the world beſides himſelf. This wrought the greateſt confuſion in the unbelieving *Jews*, and the greateſt conviction in the *Gentiles*, who every where ſpeak with aſtoniſhment of theſe truths they met with in this new magazine of learning which was opened to them, and carry the point ſo far as to think whatever excellent doctrine they had met with among *Pagan* writers, had been ſtole from their converſation with the *Jews*, or from the peruſal of theſe writings which they had in their cuſtody.

FINIS.